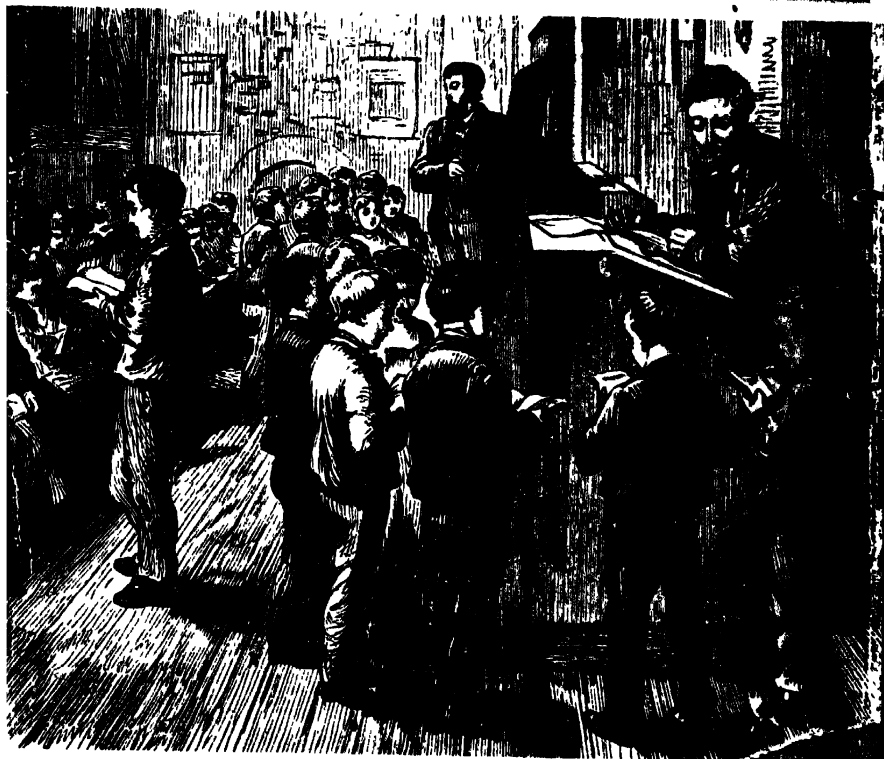


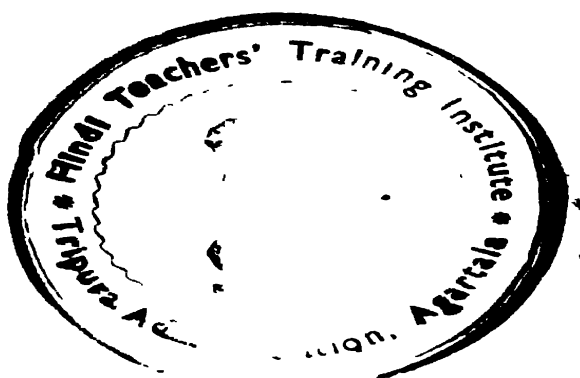
School Teachers

The Growth of the Teaching Profession in England and Wales
From 1800 to the Present Day

A. TROPP

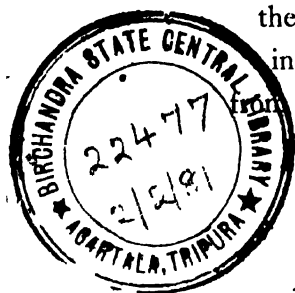


**THE
SCHOOL TEACHERS**



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in England and Wales
from 1800 to the present day



by
ASHER TROPP

Hindi Teachers Training Institute

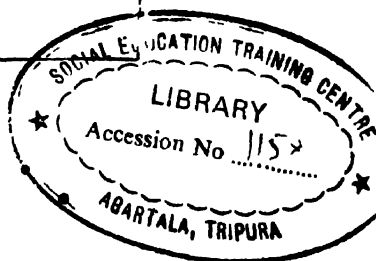
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THE KINGSWOOD SOCIAL HISTORY SERIES

Editors: H. L. Beales and O. R. McGregor

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PREFACE

THIS book has stemmed from two of the major interests of British sociology: the investigation of the growth and functions of the professions and the study of social class and social mobility. In this, I must acknowledge the influence, first of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Sir A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson; and secondly of Lancelot Hogben and D. V. Glass. Following on the general investigation reported in *Social Mobility in Britain* (edited by D. V. Glass) it was decided that studies of particular groups or professions were needed, especially those whose place in the power structure of the community, or in the process of social mobility, could be regarded as "critical".

The elementary teaching profession has been, historically, one of the main channels of social mobility between the working and middle classes and the National Union of Teachers has played an increasingly important part in the determination of educational policy. In this book, I have examined the various factors which have influenced the status of the profession and the pattern of recruitment from 1800 to the present day, the emergence of teachers' associations and the methods which these associations have used to influence public policy.

I wish to thank Mrs. J. E. Floud and Professor D. V. Glass for their advice, aid and encouragement. Dr. George Baron and Dr. Olive Banks have helped me with many stimulating discussions and Professor W. O. Lester-Smith, Mr. T. F. Davies and Mr. W. W. Hill made valuable suggestions on the draft manuscript. Among the many teachers and N.U.T. officials to whom I am indebted, I should like in particular to mention Mrs. W. M. Shelley, Librarian of the National Union of Teachers. My greatest debt, however, is to my wife who has indeed been my close collaborator at every stage in my research.

A. T.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"The Schoolmaster is abroad! And I trust more to him, armed with his primer, than I do to the soldier in full military array, for upholding the labours of his country."

Attributed to Lord Brougham, 29 January, 1828.

THE object of this study is to trace the social history of the professional group of "elementary school teachers" from the beginnings of the profession to the present day. The study is focused on the teachers themselves, on the ways in which they have been recruited and trained, their conditions of employment, their position in the social structure and their professional associations. It is true that it is difficult to demarcate the boundaries of the professional group under investigation. Officially, the "elementary school teacher" like the "elementary school" disappeared after the Education Act of 1944. The basic core of the profession since 1846 has consisted of teachers holding a certificate recognized by the government. They have been trained in separate "Normal Schools" or "Training Colleges" and have taught in schools attended mainly by children from the working and lower middle classes. Around this core, for most of the history of the profession, there clustered a mass of untrained and uncertificated teachers, and since 1902 the boundary between the secondary teachers and the elementary teachers has become increasingly blurred. It must be left to the narrative itself to detail for each period the section of the larger "teaching profession" under inquiry.

The key to the growth of this particular professional group must be sought in the interaction between the continuing process of industrial expansion and the English social structure. In exactly the same way as the needs of a developing industrial society were met through the growth of specialist groups like the engineers, chemists, accountants, civil servants and social workers, so one of the fundamental requisites for both the growth and continued existence of industrial society was met by the emergence of the elementary school teachers—the "teachers of the

people". The process, however, was not a simple one. The distinctive qualities and problems of the teaching profession have been shaped in the struggle over the education of the poor. The problems of, "Who educates whom for what?" and of "To whom do schools belong?" have been matters of perpetual controversy in which the teaching profession itself has played an increasingly important part. It is impossible to analyse the evolution of the profession without, at the same time, tracing the history of education. It is true that many excellent books on the subject already exist but the material used in preparing this study has, so I believe, shed light on some neglected aspects of the development of education. I make no apology, therefore, for any passages which, at first sight, may appear to be concerned more with the history of education than with the history of the teacher.

Much of the study is concerned with the part that the organized teaching profession has played in the political process. In Great Britain, while there has been no serious attempt to form a specific "middle-class" party, individual middle-class groups have participated in the struggle of interest groups inside Parliament and inside the main political parties. Each occupational group has intervened to promote its own particular interest rather than as part of a "class". The National Union of Teachers has, on various occasions, collaborated with the Civil Service Unions and the National and Local Government Officers, and during the recent dispute with the Durham County Council the doctors, dentists, nurses, engineers and teachers formed a joint council. Each alliance has been for a specific purpose as were the alliances of the N.U.T. with working-class groups during World War I and during the 1942-4 campaign for educational advance.

The teachers as an occupational group have constantly sought to remain "non-party" and even "non-political". Some leaders of the N.U.T. have argued that "the education of a whole people in the ways of right thinking and feeling and doing is too noble, too momentous a work to be impeded or stopped by the bickerings and rivalries of Conservatives and Liberals or by the struggle of those who are out of office with those who are in".¹ This belief that education is not a political matter but "a kind of absolute, a sort of natural law that transcends the vagaries of contemporary

¹ J. Langton, in his Presidential Address for 1971, quoted approvingly by C. A. Roberts in his Presidential Address for 1952 (*The Schoolmaster*, 18 April, 1952).

politics"² obviously blinds itself to the facts of social and political power. In reality, however, the political neutrality of the N.U.T. is based on more practical arguments. The first is that the union can see nothing to gain and much to lose by an alliance with either of the two main political parties. It already has the support of the Labour Party for its educational aims and a formal alliance would add nothing and would mean abandoning much of the union's influence over sections of the Conservative Party. Even more important is the fact that the profession itself is split in its political allegiance, some two-thirds voting Conservative and some one-third Labour.³

One further point which needs to be made here is the relevance of the experience of social mobility to the political ideology and willingness to organize of the new middle classes. Most of the statements that have been made by American sociologists on the effects of social mobility in making for political apathy and "rear-guardism", inability to organize and excessive concern with status,⁴ do not seem to be applicable to the mass of the English lower middle classes. In part due to the existence of a strong manual trade union movement they could imitate, and in part to the relatively restricted nature of their mobility aspirations, large sections of the English black-coated groups have organized occupationally to achieve their ends and as individuals they are exceptionally active in political life.

The elementary teaching profession, unlike the older independent professions, has been salaried from its beginnings. It was created by the State, and in the nineteenth century the State was powerful enough to claim almost complete control over the teacher and to manipulate his status while at the same time disclaiming all responsibility towards him. Slowly, and as the result of prolonged effort, the organized profession has won free and has reached a position of self-government and independence that is a source of continual envy to teachers in other countries. At a time when there is much pessimism and concern around the position of the professions in the Welfare State, the history of the elementary teacher has, as we shall see, a great deal of encouragement to offer.

² W. O. Lester-Smith, *Education in Great Britain*, 1949, p. 1. Professor Lester-Smith is himself one of the strongest opponents of the attitude quoted above.

³ J. Bonham, *The Middle Class Vote*, 1954, p. 134.

⁴ C. W. Mills, *White Collar*, 1951.

While certain periods in the history of the teaching profession and certain aspects of that history have been covered in previous studies,⁵ this is the first attempt to trace the whole of the growth of the profession. Dealing as it does with the largest of all professional groups over a period of 150 years, and with a subject which has always been a matter of social and political controversy, this study cannot be exhaustive. It is concerned with the professional group and has little to say about the individual teacher or teacher-leader. I would like to have said far more about men and women like James Davies, John Pringle, Thomas Tate, John Hullah, James Runciman, Mrs. Burgwin, J. J. Graves, W. Lawson, T. E. Heller, J. H. Yoxall, T. J. Macnamara, Edward Gray, and Marshal Jackman. The list of great teachers is a very long one and in contrast to the older professions we have very few biographies or memoirs. Their work lives in the schools they have created and in the children they have educated.

⁵ Notably G. W. Hughes, *Social and Economic Status of the Elementary School Teacher in England and Wales 1833-1870* (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manchester, 1936).

R. W. Rich, *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century*, 1933.

D. F. Thompson, *Professional Solidarity among the Teachers of England*, 1927.

Ruth Van Camp, *The National Union of Teachers in England, its History and Present Status* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Western Reserve University 1935).

B. Webb, Special Supplement on "English Teachers and their Professional Organization", *New Statesman*, vol. V, 25 September and 2 October, 1915.

A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, *The Professions*, 1933, pp. 250-65

CHAPTER TWO

THE BIRTH OF THE PROFESSION

"The schoolmaster, as we now understand his office . . . has arisen in modern times, he is a comparatively new agent in the social organization. He is a result of the advanced civilization of the last hundred years. His office is an addition which increased exigencies have rendered necessary for the social service. Strictly speaking, the real professional schoolmaster must, in all countries, be considered to date his origin from the first establishment of normal or training schools."

Educational Expositor, March 1853.

MEN and women who specialize in the instruction of the young are to be found in almost all societies and it is possible to trace teachers of the poor and schools for the poor in England from the earliest times. "Dame schools" are as old as English history, and they provided a rudimentary form of education for those children whose parents could afford the small fees charged. The education provided in these schools by widows, discharged soldiers and bankrupts was at its best the three "R's" and the Bible. There was no system of training, no educational technique for the teacher to acquire and no system of inspection.

Charity School Teachers

If, however, we are looking for a "profession" in any of the current senses of the term, the first professional teachers of the poor are to be found in the teachers of charity schools in the "age of philanthropy". Throughout the eighteenth century there were serious and sustained efforts to provide a means of free education for the "lower orders". The impulse behind these efforts was the same as that which sent missionaries abroad—the necessity of converting the heathen to some form of Christian morality. The lack of competent masters and mistresses handicapped charity school education as it was to handicap later educational efforts. Mandeville's description of charity school teachers is well known:

"wretches of both sexes . . . that from a natural antipathy to working, have a great dislike to their present employment, and perceiving

within a much stronger inclination to command than ever they felt to obey others, think themselves qualified, and wish from their hearts to be masters and mistresses of charity schools."¹

M. G. Jones, in her masterly and extensive study of the Charity School Movement, has given a fuller and less biased picture of the charity school teacher.² She writes:

"It is impossible to deny that the masters and mistresses were, as a body, ill-equipped for their work, or that they conducted themselves and their school satisfactorily only when they were subject to constant supervision and inspection. Among them were ignorant, lazy, dishonest and in-compassionate men and women."³ "But in many cases, they carried on their work, faithfully and efficiently against the most serious of educational handicaps, those of a narrowly limited period of schooling, and irregular attendance."⁴

Attempts were made by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and the trustees of the London charity schools to obtain teachers with some degree of moral and intellectual qualification, the main stress being laid upon good character and religious knowledge. The S P C K realized the need for trained teachers, and although a projected seminary for professional

¹ *The Fable of the Bees or Private Vices, Public Benefits With an Essay on Charity and Charity Schools and a Search into the Nature of Society Also a vindication of the Book from the Aspersions contained in a presentment of the Grand Jury of Middlesex and an abusive letter to Lord C. B. Mandeville 1705*

² M. G. Jones *The Charity School Movement* 1935, pp. 96-109

³ *Ibid* p. 102

⁴ *Ibid* p. 105

⁵ The following qualifications were made essential in the choice of a master for the charity schools. He was to be

- (1) A member of the Church of England of a sober life and conversation, and not under the age of twenty-five years
- (2) One that frequents the Holy Communion
- (3) One that hath a good government of himself and passions
- (4) One of a meek temper and humble behaviour
- (5) One of a good genius for teaching
- (6) One who understands well the grounds and principles of the Christian religion, and is able to give a good account thereof to the minister of the parish at ordinary examination
- (7) One who can write a good hand, and who understands the grounds of arithmetic
- (8) One who keeps good order in his family
- (9) One who is approved by the minister of the parish (being a subscriber) before he be presented to be licensed by the ordinary

The same requirements were necessary for a schoolmistress except for number (7)

An Account of Charity-Schools lately erected in those parts of Great Britain called England and Wales With the benefactions thereto and of the method whereby they were set up, and are governed 7th edition, 1708, p. 4

training was abandoned because of the expense involved, a newly elected schoolmaster was encouraged

"to consult with some of the present schoolmasters of these schools for the more ready performance of his duty. And it is recommended to them to communicate to such newly-elected master their art, and the divers methods of teaching and governing their scholars used according to their different capacities. And moreover it will be convenient that such new elected master have liberty on certain days to see and hear the present masters teach their scholars, and upon occasion to be assisting to them in teaching, that such new master may become yet more expert and better qualified for the discharge of his office."⁶

During the latter part of the eighteenth century many of these charity schools either deteriorated or neglected their founders' intention that they should teach a large number of children in favour of boarding a small number.

Early Nineteenth-Century Teachers

The movement, which was to lead to the founding of the first system of national education, was aided in its first stages by the promises of Lancaster and Bell that their monitorial systems would provide a cheap, easily applied and rapid method of teaching the poor the basic elements of instruction.⁷ The system of setting the elder children to teach the younger was not new. Wherever the teacher is faced with an overwhelming number of pupils it is almost bound to appear in one form or another.⁸ The effect of the monitorial system on the teacher was further to "depreciate (his) social position . . . by requiring little else of him than an aptitude for enforcing discipline, an acquaintance with mechanical details for the preservation of order, and that sort of ascendancy in his school which a sergeant-major is required to exercise over a batch of raw recruits before they can pass muster on parade".⁹

The monitorial system was, however, a first attempt to grapple with the difficulty of the shortage of teachers and although it

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷ The monitorial system itself is described in every history of elementary education and I have nothing to add to these descriptions: See, for example, C. Birchenough, *History of Elementary Education*, 1938, Chapters II and IX.

⁸ R. W. Rich, *op. cit.*, Chapter I

⁹ For example, Santha Rama Rau, *East of Home*, 1951.

¹⁰ *Educational Examiner*, March 1853.

failed, it left England covered with a network of schools. R. W. Rich gives as the reasons for its abandonment the gradual understanding that "true education can arise only from the interaction between immature and mature minds, and that the monitor might be an instructor, but never an educator". An explanation which is perhaps nearer the truth is that "the mission of the teacher began to be recognized as that of a moral regenerator and guide among the poor and ignorant, not that of an ill-paid hireling drill-master".¹⁰ It was not that the monitors were found to be incapable of performing the task for which they were recruited, for the purpose of the early educational movement was simply to teach the three R's leaving morality to emerge as a "by-product". The new emphasis was on the direct moral elevation of the masses and for this adult and religious teachers were necessary.¹¹

In the movement for providing education for the children of the poor, the poor themselves were involved mainly as disinterested onlookers. Working-class pioneers like Owen, Place, Lovett and Cooper advocated free and compulsory education, but by and large the great educational conflicts were fought over the heads of a powerless working class. In the 1830's and 1840's the great question was whether education could mitigate the dangers inherent in an ignorant industrial population or whether it would, by teaching the poor to read and write, make them a still greater danger to society. An important but secondary question was -- who was to provide the education and what should be its nature? Once it was conceded that education should be extended to the poor through the medium of voluntary religious societies and that this education should be suffused with morality and religion, it became obvious that the main need was for a supply of efficient, religious and humble teachers. Educational advancement was hamstrung because salaries were too low to obtain competent teachers. As Francis Place put it, "A master may be had at almost

¹⁰ *Educational Examiner*, March 1853.

¹¹ For a description of the training of teachers under the monitorial system, see R. W. Rich, *op. cit.* An amusing description of this training was given by F. Crampton in 1861 when he wrote that the "old" schoolmaster "was generally what was called trained at Westminster where you might see him with a little slate round his neck, going up and down in the class with the little boys with whom he was practising the various dodges of Dr. Bell's system, and at 12 o'clock placed in a row, waiting to be howled to by the Head Master as a sign of dismissal. For about six months he underwent this ordeal, and then went to practise in a school at which he had observed in training" (*The School and the Teacher*, August 1861).

any price you please, but you would not have a competent one at a low price."¹² The religious societies themselves realized that low salaries were the main difficulty but all their resources were devoted to the construction of schools and the training of teachers. On rare occasions they made small grants towards teachers' salaries, but for the most part all they could do was to appeal to property owners and clergymen not to let "the wages of one who is fit to teach the children of the poor fall below those paid to a humble mechanic".¹³

The low salaries that were being offered (even with the added inducements of schoolpence, a free house and "extras") were proving insufficient either to attract recruits to the profession or to keep them in the schools once they had been trained. There is much evidence that the low status of the teacher was a further cause of difficulty in recruitment. As J. T. Crossley said, "the elementary schoolmaster is thought very little of; in fact, so much despised, that men of respectable attainments will not undertake the office of schoolmaster".¹⁴ One final factor was the sheer difficulty of the teacher's work in the schools of the time. They were among the first of those generations of teachers who throughout the century went into the town and country slums to bring the elements of discipline, morality and learning to the children of the poor.

Among the accounts by teachers of conditions in the schools of the time the most striking is that of an anonymous teacher writing in the *English Journal of Education* for 1850 and 1851, "Extracts from the Private Diary of the Master of a London Ragged School".

"In decency of behaviour or in respect for the teacher or in discipline of any kind, they are totally unparalleled. No school can possibly be worse than this . . . the very appearance of one's coat is to them the badge of class and respectability; for although they may

¹² *B.P.P.*, 1835, VII. Select Committee on Education, 1835, §930, Francis Place

¹³ *B.P.P.*, 1845, XXV Minutes, 1843-4, p. 38, J. Allen

¹⁴ *Select Committee on Education*, 1834, §1058, J. T. Crossley.

The British and Foreign Society, when sending a teacher into any country town, endeavoured to find out one or two intelligent persons in the town who could properly appreciate the importance of the schoolmaster's office and requested them to introduce him to respectable society (*Select Committee on Education*, 1834, §279, H. Dunn)

See also John Lalor et al., *The Educator: Prize Essays on the Expediency and Means of Elevating the Profession of the Educator in Society*, 1839.

not know the meaning of the word, they know very well, or at least feel, that we are the representatives of beings with whom they have ever considered themselves at war. This is not theory but fact. . . ."

Assaults by pupils and the parents of pupils were common. On his first attempt to close school with the recital of the Lord's Prayer, the prayer was interrupted by cries of "Cat's meat" and "Mew, mew". After a few days the daily duties of the teacher were worked out as:

- (1) To see the boys and girls well washed and scrubbed.
- (2) To try to get prayers said decently.
- (3) To give them a lesson in their duties and privileges, for they have many and know none.
- (4) Some religious instruction.
- (5) Reading.
- (6) Writing.
- (7) Arithmetic.

Soon the teacher was writing:

"Any careful observer would come to . . . the conclusion . . . that these people do not require the schoolmaster so much as they need some municipal act for the regulation of lodging-houses and dwelling-houses generally. . . . It is almost cruelty to talk of virtue or decency to a being who is doomed to sleep and do everything else in a crowd."

After a few months he could write:

"In opening and closing the school a wonderful change for the better has taken place. The children can now sing the doxology very nicely. . . . They also get through their drill in a creditable manner, and I get perfect order when necessary at a given signal. How has all this been accomplished? I cannot boast of the means adopted—they have been frightened into subjection."¹⁵

What kind of a person entered the profession during the period from 1800 to 1840? The impression that emerges from the reports of inspectors on the antecedents of teachers in their districts is that the majority were men who had tried other trades and failed. They had been semi-skilled craftsmen, shopkeepers, clerks or "superior" domestic servants, all occupations which either

¹⁵ It should be remembered that this was a ragged school and not strictly typical of the majority of the schools of this period.

required a knowledge of reading and writing or offered opportunities to acquire such knowledge. Then, as now, teaching was often regarded as a respectable second best although a few had a "call" to teaching as a religious duty. The amount of training received was small, and although some became competent and diligent teachers, all too often they were complete failures.¹⁶

The Training of Teachers

Throughout the period from 1805 onwards, the training colleges were becoming increasingly important.¹⁷ One of the earliest of Lancaster's projects was the establishment of a department attached to his school at Borough Road for the training of senior monitors, in order that they in their turn might take charge of monitorial schools. Such a department was commenced in 1805 and after Lancaster's secession in 1812, the British and Foreign School Society carried on the work of training teachers. The training college of the National Society began work at Baldwin's Gardens in 1812. Training in these early days consisted almost entirely of "learning the system" or "going up and down in the school with a little slate round one's neck." Any attempt to do more was hampered by the ignorance and general low quality of the student. There was a steady effort to improve the intellectual equipment of the students, in particular from 1830 onwards when influences from Scotland and abroad began to permeate teacher training. David Stow's Academy (opened 1828) and his Normal Training Seminary at Glasgow (founded 1837) trained a new type of teacher for new types of duties. There was a great demand for Stow's "trainers" in England; the Wesleyans sent students to be trained at Glasgow and both the National and British and

¹⁶ *B.P.P.*, 1841, XXXIII, Minutes, 1842, p. 323.

¹⁷ "One or two months' observation of the methods pursued at a training establishment is thought, if not sufficient, at least all that is attainable, to prepare a master or mistress for the management of a school. A retired gardener or a steady female domestic may be considered capable of acquiring the art of teaching by the perusal of a few elementary books on the subject, and this subject one entirely foreign to their previous habits and thoughts, and of which no books can enable them to realize a just idea. Mistakes such as these extend their pernicious influences over many years. The difficulty of replacing the individual in his proper sphere is generally found to outweigh any sympathy for the interests of the numerous children that, during a long period, must pass through such hands, sorely ill-fashioned or totally unformed."

¹⁸ "The history of the training college system can only be discussed in the broadest terms in this study. R. W. Rich has given an exhaustive account in his *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales during the Nineteenth Century*.

Foreign Societies sent deputations to study Stow's methods. From 1838 onwards, many Scottish teachers came south as organizers and training college tutors.¹⁸ The training establishment of the Home and Colonial Society, founded in 1836, broke away from the monitorial system and attempted to form cultured and trained teachers who could manage children in the mass without resorting to the mechanical devices of Lancaster and Bell.

The entrants to the training colleges were for the most part young adults,¹⁹ and some of the best of the entrants were recruited from Sunday school teachers. There were very many totally incompetent applicants.²⁰ A few candidates paid for their own training but most were sent to be trained by their employers (or future employers), the training colleges themselves helping some students by providing free board or free tuition. Tests for admission varied, in some instances an examination in religious knowledge, writing and arithmetic being set, while in other instances entrance was decided on the basis of a letter of application accompanied by testimonials. The different colleges were agreed that decided views of a religious nature were of more importance than intellectual qualifications. At no training college was the whole number assembled for whom accommodation could be provided despite the encouragement given by exhibitions and grants. Perhaps the greatest difficulty in securing better entrants to the training colleges was the gap between school-leaving age and the minimum age of admission to training college.²¹

¹⁸ Among these were Horne, MacLeod and Wilson, later to play important parts in teacher training and the early teachers' associations.

¹⁹ The average age of the students at the National Society Central School was 25-30 years and at Borough Road 19-24 years.

²⁰ In one instance the British and Foreign Society advertised for a master, stating distinctly the qualifications required, and received in a short time from 40 to 50 personal applications and from 20 to 30 letters. They were willing to take any number of good teachers that might offer, but only one of that number was considered suitable (*Select Committee on Education*, 1834, §298, Dunn).

²¹ Mr. Samuel Wood regretted "that the boys generally leave us at the age of eleven or twelve, or even sooner, and that boys are perpetually leaving us, who would make excellent schoolmasters, but we do not know what to do with them. We are obliged to let them go off to anything that their parents may find for them to do: when, if we had the opportunity, we should be glad to place them in some institution where they would be carrying on their education to a higher point, and preparing themselves to take charge of schools. Excellent material for future schoolmasters are to be found in some of our best boys, but there is no place that I know of at present where their education can be completed, and I beg to state my opinion, that it is very desirable that such a place should be provided" (*Select Committee on Education*, 1834, §2154, Wood).

Three minor devices were used to train teachers. One was by the use of "organizing masters" who visited schools, spending two or more months in each place, instructing the capable and replacing the incapable teachers. A second device was by the organization of meetings of teachers during the harvest holidays.²² These meetings are to be found even during the 1850's, when they were being attended in the main by uncertificated teachers although certificated teachers were encouraged to attend them as "refresher courses". Lastly, teachers were encouraged to visit each others' schools and to study in the evenings either alone or in local mutual improvement groups.

Most educational histories have told the story of how James Kay-Shuttleworth came to "invent" the pupil-teacher system.²³ Kay-Shuttleworth himself claimed that the idea of the pupil-teacher system came to him as the result of this isolated incident in a workhouse school.²⁴ It is certain, however, that his later thinking was largely influenced by continental experience. The pupil-teacher system was in full working order in Holland, and in Switzerland, Vehrli in his normal seminary at Kreuzlingen was attempting a new kind of training, a training focusing mainly on character formation. Kay-Shuttleworth was forced to conclude that in the short run little could be done to improve the social condition of the teacher. The only motive that could encourage a man to carry on in the work efficiently and in the right spirit was a feeling of service and self-sacrifice combined with a happy acceptance of the limitations of the work. He was to express the purpose of his training system at Battersea as follow -

"e.g. "In August last, the schoolmasters and mistresses of the Archdeaconry of Coventry were invited to meet at the Central School in Coventry to be instructed under an organizing master from the National Society in London, who was to be assisted by their own Central schoolmaster and schoolmistress. The arrangement was that they were to remain during the harvest month, and each master and mistress should receive 7s. per week from the Committee of the Coventry National School Society, towards the payment of their board, lodging and travelling expenses" (B.P.P., 1845, XXXV, Minutes, 1843-4, p. 450, Bellairs).

"e.g. F. Smith, *Life and Works of Sir J. Kay-Shuttleworth*, 1923. "It was while Horne was at work in the Eastern Counties that an incident occurred which may be regarded as the starting point of the pupil-teacher system. After his work was completed at one school the master fell ill, and the chairman of the Union, on visiting the place to decide what was to be done, found the discipline and instruction going on unbroken under the spontaneous lead of a boy named William Rush, thirteen years of age. The guardians confirmed the boy in his position and he continued to conduct the school successfully until the master could return to his duties", p. 50.

"F. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

"We hoped to inspire them (i.e. the students) with a large sympathy for their own class. To implant in their minds the thought that their chief honour would be to aid in rescuing that class from the misery of ignorance and its attendant vices. To wean them from the influence of that personal competition in a commercial society which leads to sordid aims. To place before them the unsatisfied want of the uneasy and distressed multitude, and to breathe into them the charity which seeks to heal its mental and moral diseases."²³

In 1838 Kay-Shuttleworth commenced experimenting in training pupil-teachers at the Poor Law Schools at Norwood. The pupil-teachers were drawn mainly from Norwood itself, although promising boys from other pauper schools and a few private pupils were accepted and apprenticed for five years. Kay-Shuttleworth realized that to complete the preparation of the teacher for his work, the pupil-teacher period should be followed by further education in an institution definitely designed for the purpose of training teachers. His proposal for the institution of a National Training College (1839) failed due to sectarian opposition, and he established a private training college at Battersea, financing it largely out of his own pocket. The college was opened in February 1840, with eight pupil-teachers from Norwood. These were all aged about thirteen years and were indentured as apprentices for seven years. They acted as pupil teachers in the village school for three hours every day for two years and also enjoyed three years of instruction in the training school. During this period they received remuneration with annual increments. After an examination, at the conclusion of their apprenticeship, they were awarded a certificate and went to teach in schools of industry for pauper children.

In the training of teachers, Kay-Shuttleworth was insistent on the need for guarding the teacher mind from "the evils to which it is especially prone: intellectual pride, assumption of superiority, selfish ambition."²⁴ In order to guard against these dangers

²³ J. Kay-Shuttleworth, *Four Periods of Public Education*, 1862, p. 309.

²⁴ Mr. Tufnell, in a private letter pointing out the necessity for emphasizing this evil, wrote: "From the commencement of our labours we have been attentive observers of the proceedings of foreign normal schools: and the errors into which they have fallen by a neglect of simplicity and by encouraging too high aspirations among the students, have been a continual warning to us to avoid similar blunders. In Bavaria and Baden strong measures have been found necessary to repress this spirit among the normal students. In some parts of Switzerland and Prussia complaints have been made against their vain silly airs, and assumption of superiority to all around them. In

Battersea was made a place of heavy outdoor labour, simple diet, incessant vigilance and religious training.

In the course of a few years Kay-Shuttleworth was forced to make important changes at Battersea. Boy pupil-teachers were no longer admitted and the minimum age of admission was fixed at eighteen. The course lasted for two years and the students admitted were generally "sons of small tradesmen, of bailiffs, of servants or of superior mechanics". Their attainments were generally meagre and the college had to devote more time to educating the entrants in the three R's and the Bible to the neglect of their training as teachers. There was a general realization that the pupil-teacher system could help to solve the problem of the poor attainments of entrants as it could solve the problem of under-staffed schools. The only reason preventing its rapid adoption was the narrowness of the income of the schools. Finally in 1843 the financial burden became too heavy for Kay-Shuttleworth and the Battersea Normal School was handed over to the National Society.

From 1839 to 1846 there was great activity in the foundation of training institutions under the stimulus of the government grants in aid of building.²² St. Mark's College for Men and Whitelands College for Women were established by the National Society in 1840 and 1841 respectively. The other colleges were extensions of the existing diocesan "central schools" which had previously provided short courses in the monitorial system. Many of these "new" diocesan colleges contained very few students (e.g. in 1845 Llandaff contained two men and two women) and some courses lasted only three months.

The most important of these new colleges was St. Mark's Training College, Chelsea. With the Anglican revival, there had been a renewed interest by the Church in education and church teachers began to be regarded as the missionaries of the church.

France the normal schools had not been generally established more than seven years when an outcry was raised for their reform, on account of the intolerable pride and affectation displayed by those masters who had been educated in them. The result was that many of the communes positively refused to elect masters who had been educated in normal schools. We congratulate ourselves that among the fifty students who have left this institution we have but one or two complaints on this score, and we would point out the danger to all who undertake the management of similar establishments, lest by falling into it a check be placed in the way of these useful institutions." F. Smith, *Life*, pp. 123-4

²² See R. W. Rich, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV.

militant.²⁸ The teacher at St. Mark's, like the teacher at Battersea, was to be trained for a life of continual industry and self-denial, but Derwent Coleridge, the principal of St. Mark's, had his own views of the right training for teachers. These views can be summarized in his declaration that, "the better the schoolmaster is bred, the more highly he is trained, the more he is socially respected, the more ready he will be to combat the difficulties, to submit to the monotony, and to move with quiet dignity in the humbleness of his vocation".²⁹ A more ambitious programme of academic studies was adopted at St. Mark's than at any other training college. As a result, Coleridge was accused of educating his students above their station and utilizing the college for middle-class education rather than for producing effective teachers of elementary schools. St. Mark's, it was alleged, trained teachers who took up educational work in middle schools or entered the clergy and Coleridge was constantly producing statistics to disprove the allegation.³⁰ Coleridge himself was willing to accept a degree of wastage as a necessary part of any attempt to raise the educational standard of the whole. Indeed he denied that the loss of pupil-teachers or teachers was "wastage" in any sense as they were serving the Commonwealth in various other capacities and acting as a "leaven" among the labouring classes.

On the other hand, even in 1843 the British and Foreign School Society clung to the monitorial system and the method of training

²⁸ "By securing on principle an army of teachers attached to the Church, there will be little danger of any attempts, should such at any time be made, to secularize education, or to impair that just influence which the clergy ought to have in forming the religious principle of the young, as well as in imparting instruction to the adult population" (*Report of the London Diocesan Board of Education*, quoted in G. W. Hughes, *op cit*, p. 39).

²⁹ Derwent Coleridge, *The Teachers of the People*, 1862, p. 37. See also *ibid.*, pp. 16-22.

³⁰ e.g. *Summary Account of the Schoolmasters, trained in St. Mark's College, Chelsea, and recommended to Appointments, from Xmas 1843 to Xmas 1858*. "From May 1843, when the College was opened, till Christmas 1858, 408 students have completed their term of residence and 103 are still under training. Of the above 408 trained teachers, 339 are masters of elementary schools. Sixteen hold normal appointments connected with elementary education: of whom three are principals of training schools, one is a vice-principal, four are normal masters, six are tutors and assistants and two are organizing masters. Twelve are masters of middle schools, of various descriptions. Twenty-three are dead, thirteen have quitted the vocation of a school-master, in almost every case after several years' service. Five are believed to be unemployed, two of them from ill-health. Of the entire number twenty-nine are in holy orders, and thirty are pursuing their vocation in America and the Colonies. Not one has quitted the communion of the English Church" (*National Society Monthly Paper*, February 1860).

which went with it and in a letter to the Committee of Council, the Secretary of the Society wrote:

"The Committee cannot keep out of sight the fact that, in order to secure sound moral and religious influence in their schools, they have hitherto adopted and propose still to adhere to a course which frequently involves a considerable sacrifice of intellectual attainment. They refer to their practice of receiving only those who by age as well as by character may be ranked among persons of fixed and settled religious principles. To obtain youth of considerable talent, or shrewd and clever mechanics, whose ability would reflect credit on any public examination, is not difficult if moral and religious character can be regarded as a secondary consideration: but to secure persons who are decided as to their religious views, persons who have given some evidence of their desire at least to cultivate a degree of seriousness, humility, patience and meekness (virtues which could scarcely come under the notice of an inspector, yet without which the instructions of a teacher are of little moral value) it is frequently necessary to be content with a less amount of talent and more limited acquirements than would otherwise be demanded. The publication of reports (which could not notice moral differences) would necessarily tend on the one hand to discourage these humble though generally most useful labourers, and on the other to call out and stimulate mere intellectual power, and thus it is to be feared to foster a spirit of reckless ambition, which could never find satisfaction in the performance of the laborious and self-denying duties of an elementary school"¹

By the mid-1840's the need for educational advance was admitted.¹² While a series of attempts had been made to secure more efficient teachers through the founding of training colleges, these attempts had been only partially successful. It was difficult to secure entrants to the training colleges with more than the scantiest elements of education. The prolonged gap between the age of leaving school and the age at which it was possible to enter a training college could be closed by the institution of a pupil-teacher system, but this the schools were unable to afford. Even if a pupil-teacher system were instituted, the cost of a training college course would disbar many of the best pupil-teachers. The training colleges themselves had their resources stretched to the utmost and would be unable to give any further aid to students.¹³

¹¹ *B.P.P.*, 1843, XI, Minutes, 1843, p. 612.

¹² The disturbances among the working classes had undoubtedly contributed to impress the country with the necessity for action.

¹³ *Quarterly Education Magazine*, January 1848, Report on Work of Home and Colonial Society: "Such is the result of the labours of three months—with limited premises, and still more limited means, nay, if the plain truth

Even if suitable entrants were obtained and trained, there was always the danger that the training would be used as a stepping-stone to more lucrative employment. While the teacher was grossly under-paid and schools were grossly under-staffed, no sense of vocation would keep him at his work. Instances were not uncommon of "men at the head of schools of a considerable size leaving the calling of a schoolmaster to be employed as book-keepers in offices and the like".³⁴ Until conditions inside the schools were bettered, improved training would only mean that "our normal institutions may turn out nurseries for railway clerks".³⁵ Attempts to bind candidates to teaching by a formal indenture (common throughout the history of the profession) only made the students more eager to escape when their time was out. Again, while all schools were woefully short of funds, the cheapest teachers were sought, and trained masters were sometimes regarded as expensive luxuries beyond the reach of the poorest schools.

The Minutes of 1846

Kay-Shuttleworth had realized the nature of the educational difficulty many years before his appointment as Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education in 1839. Only government assistance could bring order and progress, and this assistance would only be acceptable to the religious societies if it left their authority supreme.³⁶ The pupil-teacher system instituted by the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education in August and December 1846 was intended to serve the double purpose of improving the instruction given in the elementary schools, and of providing a succession of capable pupils for the training colleges. The government was not to initiate educational activity but to aid it. If private individuals would provide a school of a certain degree of efficiency, the government would pay for five years the salary of a certain number of apprentices (called pupil-teachers) to the schoolmaster,³⁷ and would ultimately provide them, upon the condition of passing an examination, with an amount of help may be told, with tradesmen waiting for bills unpaid, and officers getting their salaries £10 at a time, as money has come in. . . . The Government plan seems at last to open a prospect of relief. . . ."

³⁴ B.P.P., 1842, XXXIII, Minutes, 1842, p. 104, J. Allen.

³⁵ *Quarterly Review*, September 1846, pp. 420-1.

³⁶ See J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *The Age of the Chartists 1832-54*, 1930, pp. 180-216, for a description of the religious conflicts between 1833 and 1846.

which was nearly equivalent to a free admission to any training college which they might select.

After 1846, the hallmark of professional ability was the possession of the government certificate gained either by internal examination at the end of the two-year training college course or else by passing the external examination for practising teachers. The certificate was more, however, than a mark of ability. Provided the annual report of "Her Majesty's Inspector" was satisfactory, the certificated teacher had his salary augmented by a *direct grant from the government* of between £10 and £30 per year (for a woman the amount varied from £6 13s. 4d. to £20).³⁷ Although the majority of teachers in elementary schools were uncertificated until a much later date, the certificate set the standard for the profession. The fact that from the beginning the standard was set by the government and could be "manipulated" to control the supply of teachers is one of the most significant facts in the history of the profession. Of equal importance was the fact that the government did not directly employ the teachers and the teachers were not "civil servants".

Under the 1846 system, the elementary school world was meant to constitute a closed system. The most intelligent and moral pupils of the elementary schools were to be apprenticed as pupil-teachers at the age of thirteen. At the end of five satisfactory years of service and education (one and a half hours a day from the master) they were to enter for a competitive examination for a "Queen's Scholarship" to a training college. Those successful³⁸ were to stay at the college for one, two or three years³⁹ and after leaving college would receive, provided they taught in a school under government inspection, an augmentation grant and finally a retiring pension.⁴⁰

It was not to be expected that an educational change of this kind would go through without opposition. The dissenters

³⁷ Salaries of at least double the amount of the grant were required to be paid by the managers of the school. The *minimum* salary of a male certificated teacher was therefore from £30 to £90, and of a female certificated teacher from £20 to £60. Added to this were their fees for training pupil-teachers.

³⁸ Those who just failed to obtain a scholarship were to be given an opportunity of obtaining employment in the public service.

³⁹ The colleges received a direct grant from the government for training a satisfactory school teacher.

⁴⁰ The promise of retiring pensions to certificated teachers was couched in somewhat ambiguous terms.

objected to paying for church schools (the church had more schools and less objection to subsidies) and the extreme churchmen objected to paying taxes "for the dissemination of heresy and schism". Both churchmen and dissenters objected that the better disciplined minds of the young pupil-teachers were no substitutes for the religious zeal of the older type of teacher.⁴¹ Finally, the dissenters feared the enormous extension of government influence over teachers and pupil-teachers and their families. This was a fear shared by some, at least, of the working-class leaders.

The majority of the teachers were enthusiastic about the new scheme.

"Mr. and Mrs. Hill taught a school in a village two miles distant. The boys' school was about to be placed under government inspection, by the master's desire. 'Determined to get into it, are you?' said Mr. Morton. 'Yes: I'm tired of teaching fifty boys after such a fashion: besides, I want more money. Fifty or sixty pounds is not very good pay for the entire labour of two persons, neither does it go very far with all possible care, even if one is inclined to be satisfied with "painted deal", etc., etc., according to the Welsh manager's advice, who makes £40 his maximum. Country shopkeepers and mechanics are better off, and are apt to pride themselves upon the distinction. In short,' said he, laughing, 'I shall certainly try to raise my position, although I am well aware there is a lion in the way.' Mrs. Hill was not going under government. It was all very well for the boys, but by no means necessary or desirable for the girls' school: besides the clergyman did not wish it. . . . Mr. Harris replied, 'It is too late to begin to climb high trees, young men may run races and scale mountains but the best of my days are gone. I am put under government "nolens volens" I will do my best but I shall never succeed. I shall never make a government man. You may all do it, for you are younger than I, but I feel I never shall.'"⁴²

"*Quarterly Educational Magazine*, July 1849 "(should) . . . such persons . . . be turned off, and left to starve, that clever lads and sharp young women from our training schools may take their place and give gallery lessons with absolute coolness". The religious societies still continued their attempts to attract "right-minded" adults after the 1846 Minutes.

"*The School and the Teacher*, October 1856. "Fifteen Years among National Schools" by A Teacher (*see ibid.* August, September) This, although a work of fiction, was written by a teacher and is extremely revealing on the teachers of the period.

The reference to "painted deal" refers to a letter which appeared in the *National Society Monthly Paper*, May 1851, in which "A School Manager in Wales" accused teachers of extravagance "in their churches mahogany furniture, sofas, etc., when painted deal would do". The fact that 15 years had elapsed since this minor gibe to the teachers and that a passing reference to it could still, presumably, be understood, shows their sensitivity about their social status.

In spite of opposition, the Minutes went through and by 1859 a total of 12,604 certificates had been awarded. This response is a direct measure not only of the enthusiasm of the teachers, but also of the managers. The managers, as we have seen, had to be willing to accept inspection and provide a salary for the teacher of at least twice the value of the augmentation grant.⁴³

While the assessment of the results of the 1846 system is left to future chapters, it should be noted that the immediate verdict of the inspectors was that real and substantial progress was being made. The difficulties of the teacher should not be forgotten. The young and newly trained teachers were being placed in complete charge of schools at the age of nineteen or twenty. They might have 200 or 300 scholars, and, at most, a staff of five or six young pupil-teachers whom they had also to prepare for an annual examination. In spite of such difficulties, it is rare to find an H.M.I.'s report which does not praise the results achieved by such teachers.

Between 1849 and 1859 the number of pupil-teachers at work in the schools rose from 3580 to 15,224. This steady rise took place in spite of the disappointment due to the withdrawal in May 1852 of the offer of civil service posts.⁴⁴ While the loss of the vague expectations of government patronage had a slight effect on the flow of candidates, many pupil-teachers continued to make their way into government service to the intense annoyance of middle-class parents.⁴⁵ The pupil-teachers were selected with the greatest care possible by the inspectors, managers and clergymen. The managers had to testify to the H.M.I. not only on the character of the apprentice, but also on that of his parents or guardians. It was carefully ascertained whether the candidate lived under the "constant influence of a good example" and if his family life did not bear scrutiny, he was to board in some approved household. "Their Lordships" would not allow pupil-teachers to live in a public house, however well conducted it

⁴³ There were of course some managers, of the type noticed by H.M.I. Rev. J. Blandford in 1850, who, speaking of an old teacher, said "He is very incompetent but we like him, for he gives us no trouble and is very civil—duly touching his cap and never troubling for money for books or maps, etc." ⁴⁴ See *Minute*, 12 May, 1852 (*B.P.P.*, 1852-3, LXXIX, Minutes, 1852-3, p. 9).

⁴⁵ . . . "the feeling of the public against persons thus gaining awards for themselves, and changing their station in life, after they obtained assistance only for the object which the State has in educating them—namely, to obtain a staff of future schoolmasters—will rise, and undoubtedly overthrow this part of the system", *Literary Gazette*, 1860

might be. Illegitimate children were not admitted, except in cases of outstanding merit, and even so they were required to move to some other place where they were not known. Furthermore, if a pupil-teacher was in a Church of England school, he was to show that he fully understood the catechism, and in other schools the managers were to certify that the religious knowledge of their pupil-teachers was satisfactory. With such precautions it was no wonder that H.M.I. Brookfield, in 1850, described the pupil-teachers as "the flower of the clergyman's school, perhaps of the parish".

In spite of all these precautions there were many who feared that the 1846 Minutes would tend inevitably towards the recruitment of the teaching profession solely from the lower orders and that these recruits, impelled by personal ambition rather than a religious calling, would make for a secular education. To avert this danger, every effort was made in the training colleges to bring the students into contact with religious and cultivated tutors and to fill them at the same time with missionary zeal and with a deep sense of personal humility. It was true that both during the period of pupil-teacher training and at the training college the system of competitive examination tended to encourage the students to pay most attention to secular subjects. The H.M.I.s as a body set themselves against this tendency; their reports constantly stressed the need for religious zeal as well as secular knowledge and on three occasions (1854, 1856, 1858) the entrance requirements for Queen's Scholarships were relaxed in an attempt to bring into the profession candidates other than five-year trained pupil-teachers.

Throughout the period there was a tendency for the proportion of female pupil-teachers to rise. From 32 per cent of the total in 1849, it rose to 41 per cent in 1854 and 46 per cent in 1859. This increase was due not only to the growing demand for certificated schoolmistresses, but also to the greater attractions of the profession for women. There were fewer alternative occupations open to girls⁴⁶ and many girls entered teaching

⁴⁶ *The School and the Teacher*, August 1856. "The openings for females are but few. The girls in our schools have generally to choose between domestic service, dressmaking, or some occupation which we may denominate factory work. Now it is evident, that for them an occupation which secures an immediate income, averaging £15 per annum for five years, with a prospect of from £60 to £100 afterwards, will be preferred to any of the other alternatives, especially when greater respectability and less restraint will also be secured."

with the hope of abandoning it on marriage.⁴⁷ The situation of certificated mistresses was considered to be so attractive that attempts were made to appropriate it for middle-class entrants. Miss Angela G. Burdett Coutts,⁴⁸ while visiting schools, "ascertained with much surprise, that the majority of pupil-teachers in National Schools, and of young women in the Training Schools of the Metropolis, were children chiefly of parents whose condition in life was extremely humble: and on further inquiry, . . . was informed that this as a rule held good generally throughout the country. Such an exclusive appropriation of these situations does not seem socially advantageous"⁴⁹ She drew up a circular to attract the daughters of the middle classes into the profession and obtained the approval of the Bishop of London, the Treasurer of the National Society and Earl Granville (President of the Committee of Council) to its circulation.⁵⁰ Her scheme, however, failed completely because though a large number of middle-class girls came forward in response to Miss Coutts' request, and were given a preliminary examination, in all cases they were found to have been so imperfectly taught that "with every desire to encourage young persons,

⁴⁷ *Training School Statistics, or an Exact Account of the Results of the Largest and Oldest Training Schools Being an appendix to the Annual Report of the Whitlands Training School, 1860-61*, gives details of the careers of female teachers trained at Whitlands. Between 1843 and 1850, 175 mistresses were trained, of these only sixty were known to be still conducting school ten years later. Forty-two could not be traced and forty-five had left the profession. Between 1851 and 1860, 417 mistresses were trained of whom 315 still remained as teachers.

An interesting table (p. 10) gives the professions of the husbands of 149 teachers trained at Whitlands. Of 134 who stated the profession of their husbands, seventy-two had married teachers.

⁴⁸ Victorian philanthropist, the "richest heiress in all England" and a great propagandist for the teaching of "common things."

⁴⁹ *English Journal of Education*, April 1855.

⁵⁰ The *English Journal of Education*, April 1858, objected to the scheme on the grounds that "Excellent as are the training colleges we doubt the wisdom of encouraging young ladies to seek entrance into them. In the first place though the education now given in them is better and sounder than that which most young ladies receive in the highest ranks of life (few of whom could answer well even the papers on music or compete with the drawing accomplished every Christiana), still this would have its evil in the certainty that young ladies thus effectually educated, and also for the domestic purposes of life, would be admirably adapted for the wives of gentlemen both by mental and moral training, and none, or but very few, would ever remain in schools for the poor. They would marry the clergyman or the squire, or their sons, in nearly every parish they went to, or would probably be well married before they went at all. The only obstacle to this now is the low birth of the present order of college trained schoolmistresses, and thus Miss Burdett Coutts' plan would remove."

it was impossible to admit them to the examination for Queen's Scholarships with the slightest hope of success".⁵¹

Dr. R. W. Rich has described the training colleges of the time in detail and there is little one can add to his description.⁵² Charles Dickens' characterization of Mr. M'Choakumchild in *Hard Times* should not be taken as a true picture of the college-trained teacher of this period.

"He and some one hundred and forty schoolmasters had been lately turned at the same time in the same factory, on the same principles, like so many pianoforte legs. He had been put through an immense variety of paces, and had answered volumes of head-breaking questions. Orthography, etymology, syntax and prosody, biography, astronomy, geography and general cosmography, the sciences of compound proportion, algebra, land surveying and levelling, vocal music and drawing from models, were all at the ends of his ten chilled fingers. He had worked his stony way into Her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council's Schedule B, and had taken the bloom off the higher branches of mathematics and physical science, French, German, Latin and Greek. He knew all about all the Water sheds of all the world (whatever they are) and all the histories of all the peoples and all the names of all the rivers and mountains, and all the productions, manners and customs of all the countries, and all their boundaries and bearings on the two and thirty points of the compass. Ah, rather overdone, M'Choakumchild. If he had only learnt a little less, how infinitely better he might have taught much more!"⁵³

However, there is some little truth in the description in that one cannot begin to understand the teachers of the period from 1846-62 unless one realizes their almost fierce desire to acquire knowledge. This knowledge may have lacked depth; it was all too liable to become a "vague discursive general acquaintance with many subjects" rather than "solid depth and exact accuracy in a few". It was impossible to expect a high proportion of "cultured" teachers from pupil-teachedom with its one and a half hours of

⁵¹ B.P.P., 1861, XXI, Pt. VI, p. 241, *National Society Report*, 1850. The desire to attract entrants from a higher class is constantly recurring in the history of the profession. Note the "Association for Promoting the Employment of High School Girls in Elementary School Work", 1902 5.

⁵² R. W. Rich, *op. cit.*, Chapters V and VI. See also B.P.P., 1861, XXI, Pt. I, pp. 108-49.

⁵³ Charles Dickens, *Hard Times*, 1854. As Frank Smith has pointed out (in his *History of English Elementary Education*, p. 220), at the time Dickens was writing, very few ex-pupil-teachers had completed their training and Dickens' attack was not an attack on the pupil-teacher. Whether this is true or not, the "stereotype" of the over-educated, conceited, ambitious teacher was very strong among the middle classes of this period.

instruction a day, after a hard day's work and with a tired teacher and tired pupil-teachers. The large number of teachers who did succeed in educating themselves, in the full sense of the word, is a tribute not to the pupil-teacher system but to the pupil-teachers and teachers themselves.

Whatever the education given at the training college or the atmosphere in which that education was given, the college helped greatly in the emergence of a sense of professional unity. It was in the colleges that the young teachers obtained their feeling that they were a professional group, and friendships were made which were afterwards to facilitate the formation of the national associations.

CHAPTER THREE

THE "SOCIAL CONDITION" OF THE NEW SCHOOLMASTERS

"It is no strange thing that men who in education, tastes and habits, have all the qualifications of 'gentlemen', should regard themselves as worthy of something very much higher than the treatment of a servant, and the wages of a mechanic. . . . What in short the teacher desires is, that his 'calling' shall rank as a 'profession', that the name of 'schoolmaster' shall ring as grandly on the ear as that of 'clergyman' or 'solicitor': that he shall feel no more that awful chill and 'stony British stare' which follows the explanation that 'that interesting young man' is only the 'schoolmaster' " ¹

The School and the Teacher, October 1855.

THE "church" schoolmaster at his work found himself under the immediate supervision of two individuals each of whom he had to satisfy. These were the local clergyman, in his capacity as chairman of the board of managers, and "Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools" (also a clergyman), on whose annual inspection and report he depended for his augmentation grant and gratuity for training pupil-teachers. Behind the local clergyman stood the Church and behind the inspector the State, in the person of their semi-mythical Lordships of the Committee of Council on Education. Others whom the teachers had to consider and placate were the parents of the children in their schools, the board of managers and the local subscribers. The board of managers for church schools was almost always completely dominated by the clergyman, but was of great importance for British and Wesleyan teachers.²

¹ This observation did not go unanswered. The *English Journal of Education*, a more moderate journal, wrote . . . "Are there really many teachers who have all the qualifications of 'gentlemen' or the wages of mechanics? Are there any number sufficient to justify this sweeping portrait of the position of the body? We must beg leave to question it. . . . Let them (teachers) by earnest industry and effectual services earn a just claim on public gratitude, and they will assuredly have an inward as well as an outward recompense, which will infinitely exceed all the titles on the earth, 'ring they ever so grandly on the ear' clothing them with honour, at least as dignified as that of being called a solicitor, or wearing a badge" (*English Journal of Education*, 1855).

² In 1850, there were 1562 schools under inspection connected with the National Society or the Church of England, 282 British, Wesleyan and other

The Clergy, the Church and the Teacher

All inspectors were agreed that in rural districts what was "being done in the way of right education is mainly due to the exertions of the clergy". The conscientious clergyman was not only responsible for much of the financial burden of supporting the school, but also spent a great deal of time in superintending the work of the school and assisting the teacher in hearing lessons. Many of the "old" teachers' looked to the clergyman for constant advice and support and were helpless without it. During the first stages of state intervention, one of the main duties of the inspectors had been to encourage clergymen to take an active interest in the school. H.M.I. J. Allen wrote in 1845 that:

"Our ordinary teachers have very little sense of how much is entrusted to them, and therefore if a school is to be of real value, except in very rare instances, there must constantly be at hand the unbought services of someone, either clergyman, esquire or members of their families, who, keeping the most important ends constantly in view, will be capable, both by education and intelligence, to give that counsel, and infuse that spirit which cannot be looked for from our present race of teachers."

While Allen encouraged the clergyman to take an active part in the work of the school, he was aware of the stultifying effects of too close a superintendence of the work of the teacher

... "It has been inculcated upon some of our teachers that they are to be the servants of the Church . . . some have, I fear understood the teaching, as that they were so far servants of the Church that they were not to exercise upon their own business upon matters properly within their own sphere, their faculties of judgment, but that they were to wait to receive from the clergyman directions to the most trivial matters before they might venture to put into practice the most obvious suggestions of experience."⁴

From 1851 onwards, large numbers of highly trained teachers were entering the schools yearly and there were signs of an schools *not* connected with the Church of England and ninety-nine Roman Catholic schools. The corresponding numbers in 1861 were 5069, 913 and 272.

Special Reports on Educational Subjects, vol 2, 1898, p 538

⁴ The terms "old" and "new" as used here are almost identical with "uncertificated" and "certificated". The majority of the "new" teachers were two-year trained ex-pupil-teachers, but there was a significant contingent among them who had taken the certificate by private study. The "old" teachers were the uncertificated teachers employed both before and after the 1836 Minutes. The possession of the certificate in itself served to unite the new teachers in a common bond of accomplishment.

⁴ *B.P.P.*, 1842, XXXIII, Minutes, 1842, p. 389, J. Allen

increasing tension between the teacher and his "ex-officio superior with no necessary knowledge of the subject". The new schoolmasters were not willing to accept the guidance of the clergy and they were extremely sensitive as to their relative "social conditions". There was also a tendency for the new schoolmasters to sneer at the old for their subordination to the clergy.

What prevented this tension from leading to open conflict was primarily the deep religious feeling of the vast majority of the teachers. The whole nature of their training had been religious, and even where they differed from individual members of the clergy, their loyalty to the church remained unshaken. Many of the clergy were, moreover, willing to relinquish all the work of the school to an efficient teacher.

The high demand for teachers meant that in cases of open conflict, the teacher could obtain a new post with relative ease. However, if he moved before the annual inspection, whether of his own volition or after dismissal, he lost any augmentation grant and pupil-teacher training grant he might have earned for work already done that year. There were many complaints on this score in the teachers' magazines.

The H.M.I., their Lordships and the Teacher

Kay-Shuttleworth had attempted to recruit the Inspectorate from men inspired by the same broad view of education as himself. He took infinite care in the selection and training of the inspectors and corresponded with them on the most minute details of their work. From the teacher's point of view, and with some minor reservations, one must agree with Leese's appraisal of the inspectors' part in national education during this period when he writes:

"They led the crusade against the effete monitorial system and initiated great improvements in school organization and management. Their reports helped to gain for the teacher a better salary, a higher social standing, and the prospect of a decent home and of a pension on retirement. They encouraged the formation of teachers' associations and insisted on a high standard of scholarship for the teacher far in advance of what most people thought necessary or desirable. On the other hand, they were not slow to chide any conceit on the part of the younger teachers, nor to expose gross inefficiency—or cruelty where it existed."⁵

⁵ J. Leese, *Personalities and Power in English Education*, 1950, p. 63.

Even during the late 1850's when the teachers were pressing for the promotion of certificated teachers to the Inspectorate, they gave ungrudging praise to the majority of the existing inspectors. It is noteworthy also that in reading through the five teachers' periodicals of the period, at least seven inspectors are constantly referred to in the warmest terms as friends of the teacher⁶ and only one is noted as a consistent opponent of the teachers' claims.⁷

In 1848, H.M.I. Moseley drew up an elaborate scheme for creating a Teachers' Superannuation Fund, and in 1854 he and W. J. Kennedy presented a memorial to the Lord President of the Council, signed by 725 church schoolmasters, petitioning for the setting up of such a fund. H.M.I. F. Watkins in his report for 1856-8 pressed the teachers' claim to a higher salary as a matter of not only professional, but of national importance. He wrote that

"the uncertain tenure of a scanty stipend must needs be very galling to a sensitive spirit such as, from his peculiar and isolated situation, that of a schoolmaster too often is. In addition to all this he has little or no professional prospect . . . I am speaking of it in its common worldly point of view, which is really that by which all professionals are judged in the market. . . . It is most unreasonable to expect in schoolmasters higher and less selfish motives than those which influence the lawyer, the physician, the literary man and the clergyman. . . ."

Most of the inspectors encouraged the formation of teachers' associations and were welcome guests at their meetings. At the Annual Dinner of the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters'

"These are H.M.I.s J. Norris, H. Moseley, W. H. Brook⁸, J. D. More⁹, W. J. Kennedy, F. Watkins and F. C. Cook

⁷ H.M.I. H. I. Jones. Longueville Jones attacked the teachers for their dissatisfaction with their social position, for being 'above their work', "using the school only as a stepping-stone", "lending an ear to the insidious suggestions of periodical publications, calculated only to render him unhappy and dissatisfied", etc

⁸ BPP, 1857-8, XLV, Minutes, 1857-8, p. 202-4, F. Watkins. These sentiments went too far for some teachers and "friends" of the teacher.

In *Papers for the Schoolmaster*, November 1858, a letter from A. L. attacked Watkins' Report "It is most injudicious that a statement so sure to make masters still more restless and dissatisfied with their position than they already are, should have been permitted to go forth with the sanction of a School Inspector"

An editorial in the same paper for November 1858 wrote that "There is sufficient discontent abroad which is acting unfavourably upon the moral influence of the schoolmaster, and Mr. Watkins would have done better to wait until he had discovered the means of allaying the spirit which he is likely to arouse . . . Men should not be attracted to the office by mere gain. The good results will depend upon the degree in which they do not

Association" in 1854, with H.M.I. Moseley in the chair, H.M.I. Brookfield proposed the toast of "prosperity to the association" with the following words: "I am glad to know that the time has arrived when the schoolmaster, at the close of his day's toil, could put on his hat, and, crushing it down, exclaim, 'By the grace of God there is a man under it.' " Some inspectors were blamed for encouraging among teachers the belief that they were servants of the State and "My Lords" obtained that meetings of teachers "for general discussion and not for mutual improvement" should be discouraged and that "Her Majesty's Inspectors should not encourage independent action by teachers by correspondence with them in their collective capacities independent of the managers of the schools".⁹ While the inspectors favoured teachers' associations, many were wary of the direction the movement might take. Moseley hoped that the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association" would never pass "into a society to defend the so-called rights of the schoolmaster, and to battle for his interests" and warned the members that if it did, "the favourable opinion of all good men will then desert you, and God's blessing will not rest upon you".¹⁰ H M I. Norris strongly deprecated any further centralization of teachers' associations.¹¹

There was, of course, some friction between teachers and inspectors. It was the inspectors' duty to criticize the state of the schools and the teachers, and this criticism was not always palatable to the individual teachers, their associations or their magazines. In spite of some unfortunate incidents, the large majority of the inspectors were on good terms with the teachers in their district, but as the 1846 system was extended the constitution of the Inspectorate began to change. New inspectors were appointed with little prior experience of education and there were signs of growing friction between them and the teachers.¹²

⁹ Correspondence quoted by J. Leese, *op. cit.* p. 60.

¹⁰ *National Society Monthly Paper*, July 1854.

¹¹ *B.P.P.*, 1852-3, LXXX, Minutes, 1852-3, p. 460, J. Norris. It was in answer to Norris that the *Educational Expositor* wrote "How long will schoolmasters consent to be taught the duties of their office by the members of another profession?" (*Educational Expositor*, April 1854).

¹² See, for example, *The School and the Teacher*, August 1857.

"When such men as the Rev F Temple are appointed, there cannot be nor has there been any dispute about qualifications, but in fact, many of the new inspectors are, instead of being men of judgment and experience, now young men fresh from college, or the country, without the slightest knowledge either of the best methods of imparting elementary instruction or of the means required for obtaining good discipline

During the Secretaryship of Kay-Shuttleworth the Council Office had been administered with tact and sympathy. Kay-Shuttleworth had left the Committee of Council in 1849, after a breakdown due to overwork, and was succeeded by R. R. Lingens. Of Lingens *The School and the Teacher* was to write in July 1859: "The teachers have at the helm . . . a man who is controlling the destinies of some six thousand teachers, and about fifteen thousand aspirants to the same position, apparently without a spark of sympathy for the former, and for the latter, no further care than that connected with supply and demand." Much of the antagonism between the teachers and the Committee of Council was due to the fact that two mutually inconsistent principles were at work. The first was the tightening of government control over schools and teachers. After the 1846 Minutes a large part of the teacher's salary came from the State. Both teachers and pupil-teachers were paid their grants directly from London by post office orders. Even the hours of labour of the teachers were largely fixed by the State and the Committee of Council had "also the power virtually of saying that a teacher shall not hold his situation: for the refusal to apprentice pupil-teachers amounts to this, as there are few managers who will retain one to whom pupil-teachers cannot be apprenticed".¹³ Under these circumstances it is easy to see why there was an increasing tendency for teachers to regard themselves as civil servants and to claim the rights of civil servants.

The second principle grew up in direct reaction to the first and was the expression of the disinclination of the government to carry its intervention to a logical conclusion. While tightening the restraints on the teacher, the government announced that it "neither appoints nor dismisses those officers (i.e. teachers) nor does it recognize them, except as employed by the independent managers of schools under inspection".¹⁴ This doctrine was used

For example, one of the recently appointed gentlemen upon going to inspect a school, requested the master to show him about and explain the various matters going on, pleading the novelty of his position and the necessity of initiation into its mysteries, such are the men who are deputed to be the judges of experienced teachers and judge in rather a strong sense of the term, for upon their reports depends the position and even livelihood of the teacher. . . ."

¹³ *The School and the Teacher*, April 1855.

¹⁴ *Circular on Superannuation*, quoted in *The School and the Teacher*, August 1858.

as an excuse for the government refusal to institute a superannuation scheme. At the same time that the government was denying that the teachers had any direct claim on the State, it was enforcing the extremely unpopular Minute by which it "objected to sanctioning the apprenticeship of pupil-teachers to a master or mistress who takes private pupils".¹⁵ This Minute, in spite of its good intentions, was the most unpopular act of the Committee of Council from 1846 to the Revised Code. The teachers naturally objected that they were in no position to forego the smallest additions to their income and that after they had discharged the duties of their vocation the remainder of the day should be their own, to employ as they thought fit. The government, however, was implacable and took its stand on the principle that "when the State gave money to the schoolmasters . . . it had a right to require that in return the whole remunerative time of the masters should be devoted to the schools".¹⁶

There were other irritations which the teachers suffered due to the equivocal nature of their relationship to the State. No teacher could communicate with the government on any matter affecting his own personal interests, or those of his school, except through his committee of management. If he wrote a letter to the Committee of Council on any such business, he received in reply a printed formal letter, stating that no communication could be attended to unless signed by the official correspondent of his school—a condition which frequently prevented any communication on the matter in hand. Teachers were never consulted about any new arrangements made by the Committee of Council, however deeply those new arrangements affected their condition or prospects. Deputations were sent to the Committee of Council on several occasions¹⁷ and these deputations were received with

¹⁵ B.P.P., 1854, LI, p. 64.

¹⁶ Mr. Cowper, in reply to a deputation of schoolmasters (led by Edwin Simpson), reported in *The School and the Teacher*, June 1857, said that the principle "did not apply to schoolmasters only, but to all persons employed in the public service". Mr. Simpson observed in reply, "that if the State would recognize the schoolmasters as servants of the State, and would pay them in proportion to the other servants of the State, they would be perfectly satisfied; but their Lordships of the Committee on Education refused to recognize the schoolmasters as servants of the State". Mr. Cowper's answer was not recorded.

¹⁷ e.g. On Management Clauses, 19 February, 1853.

On Superannuation 1853. (This deputation was invited to the Committee of Council Office to explain the views and wants of teachers on this subject. It was composed of five members of the Church Schoolmasters' Association.)
On the Minute preventing Private Pupils, 1857.

courtesy,¹⁸ but teachers continued to complain that there was no "machinery of consultation" and that nobody was recognized as speaking on their behalf.¹⁹

If the Committee of Council restricted the teacher's life, the teacher was always willing to admit that without the Committee no profession would ever have existed. Mr. Boardman, in a paper on "The Teacher", attacked the Committee of Council, but added . . . "The modicum of the precious metal (the teacher) receives for his services has been increased by that body to whom the elementary teachers of this country owe so much, Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council on Education."²⁰

The Parents, the Managers and the Teacher

There are several social factors which can be seen affecting the relationship between the elementary teacher and the parents of the children they teach. The teacher had "moved up" from the ranks of the working class and was seeking to enter the professional middle classes. He had achieved his position by a great effort of enforced respectability and hard work and he considered himself intellectually superior to the mass of "honest hard-working clowns" among whom he laboured. Although this sense of superiority was usually accompanied by a strong desire to better the condition of the working class, it was real enough to

¹⁸ For example, in his reply to the 1857 Deputation, Mr. Cowper first observed . . . "that it was a great satisfaction to him to meet gentlemen who were able to state what were the opinions and feelings entertained on these matters by a certain class of schoolmasters who had derived their knowledge from experience of the practical working of their own schools. He should at all times be very much obliged to any gentlemen who would tell him what their views were and what suggestions they had to make in reference to this important subject."

The School and the Teacher, June 1857.

¹⁹ It was not until 1890 that the NUT was recognized as representing the teachers by the Education Department.

²⁰ *The School and the Teacher*, May 1854.

See also A. Jones, *Principles of Privy Council Legislation*, 1859, in which, after attacking the government policy as "parade of liberality, love of authority, vacillating despotism, arbitrary changes, but always reducing liberty"; the writer hastened to add that "in the investigation of these subjects I disavow bringing any charge against the Committee of Council . . . of wilful injustice or disregard. I see very much for which teachers ought to be thankful. Their profession has been made more honourable, and their ranks filled with educated men. Their salaries have been raised . . . we are indebted to the enlightened measures of the Committee of Council for this encouragement. We pray only for the easy removal of a few grievances some well intended as benefits, we really believe, but whose tendency was not thoroughly considered: some, we faint think, enacted with no consideration whatever . . ."

inhibit easy intercourse between the teacher and the parents. The rejection of social intercourse with the working class by the teacher and the equally strong rejection of the teacher by the professional middle classes produced the teacher's "social isolation". The attitude of the parents towards the teacher was a mixture of admiration and resentment. The teacher was admired because he had risen from the working class and resented because of his "airs". He was looked upon by the manual worker as representing "respectability" and the "system" and when the workers were in revolt against the system the teacher was often its nearest and most defenceless representative.

Certain complaints made by teachers about parents are still all too familiar. It was complained that

"parents of children who attend our national schools . . . too often view the school at best as a convenient place to which they may send their children out of the way, till they are old enough to do something towards earning their bread by the sweat of their brow, and the teacher as a person paid to look after their children: one on whom they are conferring a great favour by sending their children to school, one whom they are at liberty to abuse, insult or speak of in language which a master would rarely employ towards his servant. In short, they do not value the school, nor the teacher".²¹

The religious societies realized the need for happy relations between parents and teachers, and a published address to parents urged them to be careful in interfering with discipline or correction in the school, but to treat teachers as persons deeply interested in the children's welfare, and not as hired servants. If there was a genuine grievance, parents were not to go in a passion to abuse, but to go straight to the clergyman "under whose authority everything is done". Finally, they had no right to speak angrily or disrespectfully to the teachers, who had the strongest claim to their gratitude and support.²² Teachers in their turn were encouraged by their employers to visit the parents and to attempt to influence them.

The attitude of parents towards the school varied with the type of education being offered. The monitorial system was universally unpopular with parents. Religious and moral instruction were tolerated as necessary evils only to be accepted if the secular and

²¹ *Papers for the Schoolmaster*, May 1854.

²² Quoted by G. W. Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

vocational education accompanying them were considered worth while.

The importance and nature of the relationship between the school managers and the teacher depended in the main on the religious denomination to which the school was attached. In church schools the clergyman was usually both the most diligent member of the management committee and also the member of the committee most in favour of working-class education. In rural districts attempts to enlarge the scope of the syllabus or to secure constancy of attendance were met with suspicion and opposed tooth and nail by the farmers on the committee who saw no reason why they should pay for other people's children and who in any case wanted a ready supply of rook-scarers and juvenile harvesters. In nonconformist districts the relations of the teacher with his management committee were happier. The greater emphasis on ability to read the Bible and the higher status of the teacher in the nonconformist community²³ meant that the management committee would be more favourable to the teacher and his work.

Teachers' Complaints

Many of the common complaints of the teachers have already been touched upon in this chapter. By far the most important and significant was their complaint of their low "social position." This complaint is not to be found among all occupational groups—the working class have for the most part put forward their claims as claims to higher salaries, greater security and better working conditions. While these claims are also made by teachers, they are

²³ G. W. Hughes writes as follows:

"In the first place, although their work was regarded as sacred and an integral part of Church work, they were not so overshadowed in their posts by the clergy nor were the ministers for their part so much above the general status of the congregation as a whole, as the clergy of the Church of England. Thus by the sober-minded skilled artisans and tradespeople and industrial workers who made up a great part of Wesleyan and other nonconformist bodies during the period, the schoolmaster was regarded in the same category as the minister himself, and provided that he worked with character and energy, was accorded much respect and honour. He had a very definite part in the religious community and could therein wield great influence; and very often he did so, becoming the spiritual mentor and practical guide in those many villages and town districts where there was no resident minister" (G. W.

Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 130).

This high status of the teacher was particularly true in nonconformist Wales. Welsh nonconformity had a widespread national and patriotic appeal with which the teachers were associated.

all subordinate to their demand for a higher "social position".²⁴ The new schoolmasters took up this question as early as 1853. In March of that year the newly founded *Educational Expositor* published a lengthy article "On the Social Condition of the Schoolmaster" which roused a great deal of controversy. The article commenced by saying that . . . "The qualifications now required of schoolmasters are such as would grace any rank of society, or fit their possessor for almost any sphere of usefulness. . . . But while the country requires so much of the schoolmaster . . . it has not yet assigned him a position in society at all adequate to the value and importance of his services, nor treated him with that respect and consideration which the dignity and responsibility of his office gives him a just right to expect. . . . We are not at all surprised at this: it is the usual course of things. . . . If we ask what position in society the schoolmaster ought to occupy, it will be evident at once to all disinterested and unprejudiced persons that he should rank on a level with the other learned professions, with the clergyman, the doctor and the lawyer. Sooner or later this must be the case. . . . We shall not advocate this position for him on his own account merely, but because we consider it necessary for the interests of elementary education, that he should be placed upon a proper professional footing. A man's influence must ever be dependent, to a very great extent, upon the respectability of his social position. . . . Besides, unless the position of schoolmasters is made one of respectability, they will never be induced to remain long in the profession. . . . Now, according to the present constitution of society in this country, there is only one way of raising a man from a position of comparative obscurity to one of respectability, and that is, by giving him the means of maintaining that respectability."

The article brought an immediate reply from *Papers for the*

²⁴ Charles Dickens summed the complex of emotions around the claim in a few lines.

"'You think me of no more value than the dirt under your feet,' said Bradley to Eugene. . . . 'I assure you, Schoolmaster,' replied Eugene, 'I don't think about you.' 'That's not true,' returned the other, 'you know better.' 'That's coarse,' Eugene retorted, 'but you don't know better' . . . 'You reproach me with my origin,' said Bradley Headstone. 'You cast insinuations at my bringing-up. But I tell you, Sir, I have worked my way onward, out of both and in spite of both, and have a right to be considered a better man than you, with better reasons for being proud' '" (C. Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend*, 1864-5)

Schoolmaster which agreed with the end but not with the means proposed by the *Educational Expositor* to achieve that end. It advised the schoolmasters to make decided efforts to improve themselves for "let them but show that they possess the qualifications of high moral character and competent knowledge combined with clear and enlarged conceptions of the rationale of teaching, and we are quite sure they will rise".²⁵

The Rev. W. Rogers²⁶ wrote to the *Educational Expositor* deploring the tone and matter of the article. He accused the *Expositor* of "setting the schoolmaster against the clergyman". He himself thought it

"highly important that (the schoolmaster) should assume a position suitable to the dignity of his office, and it has always been my great study to improve the condition of those teachers with whom I have been connected, but however much I may esteem them as friends and fellow labourers, till they are taken from the same rank of society and have undergone the intellectual training and the social discipline which it is absolutely necessary the doctor, the lawyer and the clergyman should undergo, I must confess myself to be one of those interested and prejudiced persons who cannot accede to the national schoolmaster a rank on the level with the learned professions".²⁷

The *Expositor*, in reply, denied that it proposed "a sudden change . . . likely to produce a collision of classes . . ." but only "the gradual elevation of one class to what we conceive to be its proper level in the social ranks, as required, not so much by its own interests, as by those of education and the country. . . ." It reminded the clergy of the humble origin of their own calling and warned them that the discontent of the teacher "must inevitably impair (their) usefulness . . . as instructors, by pre-occupying their minds, and diminishing their interests in their work, if it

²⁵ *Papers for the Schoolmaster*, April 1853.

²⁶ Rev. W. Rogers (1810-96) was a noteworthy educational reformer and an exceptional employer who paid his teachers extremely well. For a period he was a member of the London School Board and was known because of his wide embracing tolerance as "Hang-theology Rogers". Many of the clergymen (and teachers) most interested in the progress of education, were opposed to any clamour for raising the social condition of the teacher on the grounds that it would hamper the process of convincing the country that educating the lower orders would not make them more discontented. As it happened they were to be proven right in 1861 when the figure of the "discontented schoolmaster" was used to support the attack on education.

²⁷ *Educational Expositor*, June 1853.

does not even disgust them with the profession altogether, and make them quit it for some other occupation".²⁸

Further discussion followed both in the correspondence columns of the *Educational Expositor* and in the other educational periodicals. Some teachers and clergymen were of the opinion that the schoolmaster could never be the equal of the clergyman and many more, while agreeing with the aim of a higher social condition for schoolmasters, thought that agitation was futile and would only "induce young teachers to set too high a value on worldly respect and to resent fancied indignity". It was said that "next to incompetence and shortcomings, nothing can more surely retard the elevation of the craft than querulous impatience for it". The only true course was "patient perseverance in well-doing". Most of the teachers seemed to have believed that "incidental to the rise of any calling from one of comparative inefficiency to improved utility, is the fact that its reputation is of slower growth than its improvement" and were willing to wait with more or less impatience for reputation to catch up with improvement. The question of the "social condition" of the schoolmaster recurred again and again in the educational periodicals (usually connected with the complaints of "conceit" and "lack of reverence" of our "smart and well-trained young teachers"). It eventually became linked up with the whole educational reaction which was to lead to the Revised Code.

Together with the teachers' complaints of their "social condition" went their complaints of "social isolation". B. Simpson put this most clearly in a letter he wrote to *Papers for the Schoolmaster* in September 1853 in which he said "there is no class in the community more isolated and shut out from those sympathies than that to which he (the teacher) belongs. For this there are many reasons; but, perhaps, the most important is, that his social position is much below that belonging to other professions, whose equal he is in intellectual and literary attainments; whilst

²⁸ *Educational Expositor*, June 1853. In answer to 'Rogers' remarks on the humble origins of schoolmasters, the Editors replied . . . "(The fact that schoolmasters) are drawn from a lower rank of society, is only an additional reason why the clergy, if they have the real interests of education at heart, should assist them to rise. for when the profession comes to be looked upon with more respect by the public, then we may expect that persons from the upper classes will enter it, and that it will thus become more honourable and more efficient."

he is prevented, by these very attainments, from cordially sympathizing with his equals in social position."

The question of salaries was obviously closely connected with the low social position and the social isolation of the teacher. Not only was there the direct connection between income and position but also it was said that "the income of schoolmasters was not sufficient to draw into their ranks the class of person whose intelligence enabled them to derive large emoluments from other avocations". An answer often given to requests for higher salaries was that the teacher should not work for money but for love of his profession. The teachers' answer was simply: "Why expect self-sacrifice at the hands of one class of the community rather than another?" On the whole, complaints by teachers of low salaries were not common during this period. The 1846 Minutes had increased teachers' salaries considerably and they continued to rise steadily until the Revised Code.³⁰ Some of the more radical teachers were forced to rather shifty statistics in their attempts to show underpayment. Boardman, for example, gave the average salary of all teachers throughout England in 1854 as £30 per annum,³¹ and in 1857 *The School and the Teacher* made an analysis of salaries offered in the advertisement columns of educational periodicals and arrived at an average salary of £60 per annum.³² These calculations can in no way be taken as accurate. The "sample" which appeared in the advertisement columns over-stressed the badly paid posts, for not only would the turnover be greater in such posts, but the best jobs were rarely advertised but filled through the training colleges.

³⁰ In a return of a census made by the National Society immediately before the operation of the 1846 Minutes, the average salary of some 20,000 teachers was given as just over £30 per annum.

Under the 1846 Minutes the minimum salary of the certificated master ranged from £45 to £90 (depending on the class of the certificate) and of the certificated mistress from £30 to £60. The Newcastle Commission (*B.P.P.*, 1861, XXI, Pt. 1, pp. 64-7) found the average salaries of a sample of 3659 certificated masters to be £94 3s 7d (2102 had in addition houses or house rents provided). The average salary of 1972 certificated mistresses was £62 13s 10d. (of whom 1035 had houses or house rents). Uncertificated masters' salary averaged £62 4s 11d, uncertificated mistresses' £34 19s 7d., certificated infant mistresses' £58 3s 8d. and uncertificated infant mistresses' £35 2s.

The salaries actually provided thus tended to be rather higher than the minimum allotted in the 1846 Minutes. In general, salaries were higher in industrial areas than in rural areas, and higher in non-church schools than in church schools.

³¹ *The School and the Teacher*, June 1854.

³² *Ibid.*, May 1857.

The teachers' main concern was not so much the salary to be expected but rather the lack of any definite channel of promotion. The educational profession was regarded as a "dead level . . . at the best a dull tableland which, when you have once surmounted, you have no other rise before you and look forward only to going down wearily at its end".³² There were some possibilities of "bettering oneself" inside the profession. It was possible to move to a post with a higher salary and the lecturers and tutors in training colleges were selected from the best qualified and most successful certificated teachers. Many teachers looked forward to a union with the "middle class" teachers and to promotion through the "middle" or grammar schools for the wealthier classes. This union was favoured by many reformers concerned with the state of middle-class education. In 1854, Lord Ashburton expressed the hope that those certificated teachers who distinguished themselves would have the opportunity of rising from the village schools to the middle schools of the town and thence to the finishing schools of the wealthy.³³ While a few certificated teachers did take this path either by entering existing middle-class schools or by opening private schools, the state of middle-class education was such that certificated teachers entering them would often lose rather than gain in salary. Another difficulty was the low status of the certificated teacher. The feeling of the majority of the "middle-class" school teachers towards their colleagues in the elementary schools was a mixture of fear and distaste. They "felt that the position of the private teacher was endangered by the rapid improvements which were being made in the training and education of the masters of schools of a lower grade"³⁴ and also that "the status of the certificated master is far beneath that of the independent middle-class educators".³⁵

The question of promotion was inevitably linked up with the opening of the Inspectorate to teachers or at least the forming of

³² *B.P.P.*, 1857-8, XLY, Minutes, 1857-8, pp. 292-4. F. Watkins

³³ Reported in *The School and the Teacher*, May 1854.

³⁴ This phrase comes from a description (in *The Museum*, April 1861) of the reasons for the founding of "The Royal College of Preceptors" in 1846.

³⁵ In the late 1850's the Royal College of Preceptors came for a time under the control of men like Dr. Humphreys (Headmaster of Cheltenham Grammar School) and Rev. W. Taylor-Jones, M.A. (Principal of the Collegiate School, Sydenham), who attempted to unite the whole teaching profession by opening the R.C.P. to certificated masters. The decision to admit certificated masters was reversed at a general meeting of the college and the quotation is taken from Dr. White's speech against admitting certificated teachers.

a corps of sub-inspectors recruited from experienced teachers. Mr. Farnham made the case as early as 1853 in words which are to be found repeated verbatim in teachers' journals until well into the twentieth century.

"He would never be satisfied until every office connected with education was open to the elementary schoolmaster. Until that was the case, their best men would be constantly seeking promotion through other channels, and so be lost to the cause of education. The humblest boy in an attorney's office might rise to the woolsack, the curate 'passing rich with £40 a year', might become Archbishop of Canterbury; but the schoolmaster, and he alone, had no prize, no promotion to look forward to."³⁶

The teachers saw in the Inspectorate an avenue of promotion which followed naturally upon their training and experience. Of equal importance was the hope that the promotion of even a handful of teachers to the Inspectorate would raise the status of the whole profession. At first the demand was only for sub-inspectorships, but as inspectors were appointed straight from the university the demand widened to the opening of the Inspectorate itself or even the monopoly of the Inspectorate by certificated teachers.³⁷ The clam was met with the remark that "the managers of schools would not treat an inspector, chosen from a lower rank in society than themselves, with that respect his office would require."³⁸ In return, the teachers pointed to the success of the organizing masters of the National Schools (recruited from experienced teachers) who had always been treated with "becoming respect" by school managers.³⁹

³⁶ *The School and the Teacher*, February 1854. J. J. Farnham at the First Annual Meeting of the Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters. Farnham himself was forced to seek promotion elsewhere. In 1859 he was appointed Headmaster of the Bombay Education Society's School, Byculla, Bombay (see *The Educational Guardian*, November 1859).

³⁷ *The School and the Teacher*, October 1854. "Let us examine our present position as regards Inspection. We find a number of gentlemen, the majority of whom, nursed in the lap of affluence, instructed by private tutors, eminent, if eminent at all, for proficiency in one particular subject, which they are apt to make the beau ideal of education. May we not legitimately ask, are these the men to whom should be entrusted the difficult and important task of ascertaining what amount of instruction has been imparted to the children of our elementary schools? . . . The fittest persons to be appointed inspectors of schools are men who have made the education of the young their daily study, and have spent their best days in practicing what they have learnt."

³⁸ *The School and the Teacher*, October 1854. This argument was also used by the Newcastle Commission, *B.P.P.*, 1861, XXI, Pt. 1, p. 160.

³⁹ *The School and the Teacher*, October 1854. Not all teachers were in favour of the promotion of teachers to the Inspectorate. "He must be a very clever man whom I would allow to examine my boys," said one master.

Of great importance in the teachers' movement was the desire for pensions. There was general agreement amongst managers and inspectors that some kind of pension should be given to the teacher when he was too old to teach. Attempts were made to encourage the teachers themselves to subscribe to assurance societies, and in 1855 the government actually threatened the loss of augmentation grants to certificated teachers engaged in training colleges, if without special reason "they neglected to make proper provision for themselves". In most instances, the teachers were too poor to be able to subscribe the money. As H.M.I. H. L. Jones wrote, "It is all very well in theory to recommend teachers to subscribe to this and that insurance company, but practically the necessities of a teacher with a family are too pressing to allow him to do it."⁴⁰

Quite apart from any inability to afford subscriptions, the teachers from 1846 onwards looked to the government to provide a superannuation scheme. The Minutes of August and December 1846 had laid down

"that it was expedient to make provision in certain cases, by a retiring pension, for schoolmasters and schoolmistresses who, after a certain length of service, may appear entitled to such provision" . . . "provided that no such pension shall be granted to any schoolmaster or schoolmistress who shall not have conducted a normal or elementary school for fifteen years, during seven at least of which such school shall have been under inspection".

It was not clear what the Committee of Council actually meant. There is some evidence that Kay-Shuttleworth regarded the provision as applying only to those teaching already in schools, and who, by the original terms of the Minutes, were not to be admitted to the certificate examination and to augmentation grants. The admission of such teachers to the certificate examination in 1847 would appear in this light to absolve the government from its responsibility. Confusion, however, still remained and in 1851 the Committee of Council issued a Minute to clarify the situation in which they said that the provision of pensions had "been intended to facilitate the appointment of competent successors in the place of meritorious but incapacitated

⁴⁰ *B.P.P.*, 1857, Sess. 2, XXXIII, Minutes, 1856-7, pp. 508-9, H. L. Jones. It should cause no surprise that men like H. L. Jones, who were insistent that the teacher should work for love of his profession rather than for money, should favour pensions for those who had grown old in the church's service.

teachers, whose removal might by such assistance, be effected in a manner consistent with claims on the public". The teachers petitioned the Committee of Council for a pension scheme in 1849, 1852 and 1853. The government seems to have considered introducing a pension scheme but eventually decided to do nothing about it on the grounds that it "neither appoints nor dismisses these officers, nor does it recognize them except as employed by the independent managers of schools under inspection".⁴¹ The Revised Code abolished all pensions and it was not until 1875 that the right of teachers to pensions under the 1846 Minutes was finally admitted.

There were some other complaints which deserve to be mentioned. A few teachers complained of having to take their schools to church on Sundays and sit with them during service, at having to take Sunday school and "at the growing tendency to obtain schoolmasters and organists united in one person, for the salary of the former only". A handful of the teachers' leaders as early as the first Annual General Meeting of the Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters stood out for compulsory, free and rate-aided education.⁴² Many teachers realized the faults of the 1846 system, its neglect of the poorer districts and that children attended for so short a time. They realized the need for some form of aid for destitute localities and for "measures to compel parents to send their children to school, or forbidding employers to employ them under a certain age". Even at this early stage in their history, teachers and teachers' associations were concerning themselves with the welfare of education distinct from their own welfare. In a few instances the dominant motive may have been, "when education is appreciated, so will be the teacher". All the evidence, however, seems to point to the growth of a truly "professional" feeling. This chapter, concerned as it has been with frictions and complaints, has given a one-sided view of the new teacher. It is difficult to say how deep-rooted many of the complaints were or how deeply dissatisfaction with their conditions was felt among the mass of teachers. The next two chapters, which deal with teachers' associations and the Report of the Newcastle Commission will provide some evidence on the extent and direction of discontent.

⁴¹ *B.P.P.*, 1857-8, XLV, Minutes, 1857-8, pp. 30-1.

⁴² *The School and the Teacher*, February, June 1854.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FIRST TEACHERS' ASSOCIATIONS

"The programme of the proceedings of the first annual meeting of the body, is so eminently practical, and there is such a careful avoidance of 'controversial' topics in it, and of everything which would lead the friends of the schoolmaster to fear that he was 'taking a lesson' from the ignorant and misguided among the labouring classes, and was desirous of forming a schoolmasters' 'Trades' Union', to enable him to place himself in antagonism to the 'powers that be', and organize a gigantic strike, (!) - that any surmises of this nature must be completely dispelled and the promoters will not have the painful feeling that their actions and motives are misconstrued "

The School and the Teacher, January 1854, commenting on the first Annual Meeting of the Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters

The Local Associations

The meeting together of teachers for mutual improvement in their profession is probably as old as the profession itself.¹ In the 1830's, attempts were made to form larger and more stable associations of teachers. In 1835 the London "British and Foreign" school teachers wrote to the secretary of the society, appealing for funds to form an association, with the object of going through regular courses of study, passing examinations, holding meetings, lectures and essay and discussion groups on the government and discipline of schools and the best methods of teaching. The society was at first rather hesitant over helping the proposed association but the teachers went ahead and in 1836

¹ For example, the mutual improvement group organized by Henry Dixon in 1712 for the teachers of Bath "that they might consult the best methods of teaching their children" (M. G. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 109), and the society of masters in Liverpool organized by "two or three talented individuals . . . who wished to do something towards stimulating their fellow teachers to increased exertions" (*Select Committee on Education*, 1838 (1138-41)).

In some instances groups of teachers are found who meet together more as a social club than as a mutual improvement group. But in so far as professional matters could rarely be kept out of their social discussion these groups tended to become mutual improvement groups (especially after 1846).

Scottish teachers began to organize as early as 1737, and in 1748 there was an attempt to found a national organization (A. J. Belford, *Centenary Handbook of the Educational Institute of Scotland*, 1946).

formed the "British Teachers' Quarterly Association".² In August 1836 the "British and Foreign School Society" decided to assist the society of teachers and allowed classes to meet at Borough Road College.³ In 1838 half a dozen of the Metropolitan church schoolmasters agreed to meet periodically at the house of one of their number, for the purpose of mutual improvement. Each undertook to read in his turn an original paper on some topic connected with teaching, which was to be followed up by a friendly discussion. From these meetings sprang the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association"⁴ which by 1843 numbered over 150 members with a regular code of laws and a full staff of officers.⁵ The association held monthly conferences, owned a reading room and library, organized occasional lectures, series of lectures and regular classes for instruction and incorporated small district associations. It had the approbation and assistance of both the National Society⁶ and the London Diocesan Board and was patronized by many important people.

In many instances the clergy themselves were responsible for the formation and continuance of a "schoolmasters' association". In February 1842, for example, at a meeting of the diaconal board of education of Bath and Wells it was resolved: "That the schoolmasters and mistresses within the deanery, whose schools are conducted on the principles of the Church of England, be requested, with the permission of the several parochial clergy, to form themselves into an association to be governed by rules framed by the board" This being done, the first Annual Meeting

² The association was generally known as "The British Teachers' Association" or the "British Society of Teachers." It met quarterly for the reading of papers and discussion and played no part in educational politics.

³ The British teachers in London also formed the "Elementary Teachers' Association" in September 1849. At the end of 1860 the name was changed to the "London Association of Teachers".

⁴ The Association was known for several years as the "Schoolmasters' Mutual Improvement Society", and then until 1853 as the "Church Schoolmasters' Association".

⁵ *English Journal of Education* January 1843. An alternative history is given in the *Educational Examiner* June 1854. According to this account the association was founded "by the present Bishop of St. Asaph, then Rector of Bloomsbury (Rev. George Moody) who, before the establishment of training institutions, conceived the idea of calling together the teachers of his neighbourhood for the study of general subjects, and for discussion upon the art of teaching". Whatever the actual circumstances of its formation the association in its early years was strongly under the influence of the Rev. George Moody.

⁶ The National Society allowed the association to use its rooms and also made grants towards the expenses of the association.

of the Schoolmasters' Union for the Bedminster Deanery, Diocese of Bath and Wells was held.⁷

Another example of this type of "employers' association" was the "Home and Colonial" re-union meeting of teachers. At a meeting of the general committee of the Home and Colonial Society held on Friday, 21 August, 1840, it was resolved:

"That with a view to promote amongst the teachers a spirit of progressive improvement and friendly Christian intercourse, two meetings shall be held annually . . . to which all the teachers on the books of the society shall be welcome. At these meetings, information is to be given on any new plans that the committee may have approved, and answers to any questions relating to teaching that may be brought forward."⁸

Throughout the whole of this period the majority of teachers' associations were concerned almost completely with "mutual improvement", discussion, exchange of books" and gossiping over cups of tea. In most cases the clergy also attended and dominated the discussion. The big event of the year was the annual dinner or perhaps a "pic-nic" to the grounds of a local landowner. In 1855 the *Educational Expositor* gave a list of fifty-one local and district associations of schoolmasters in England and Wales and most of them would have been of this kind. In the same year, there were 2770 certificated teachers in England and Wales. Of these, 250 were members of the United Association of Schoolmasters, 450 of the Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters and some 150 of the Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association. While one should not over-estimate the significance of these more militant associations, there was some tendency for the smaller unions to enter into correspondence with the heads of the larger unions when the teaching profession was threatened.¹⁰

⁷ It was said that "one of the chief though unobtrusive advantages of this union . . . is that it is an opportunity of showing and strengthening the union of mind and heart between the clergy and the gentry on the one hand, and the body of schoolmasters and mistresses on the other . . . although assigned to different ranks in life, we meet on these occasions as brother church people, engaged in one holy work".

⁸ The meetings were held regularly every six months and were attended by 150-200 teachers. Proceedings were printed and circulated to all Home and Colonial teachers.

⁹ The associations were enabled to obtain books and maps on very advantageous terms by a Minute of the Committee of Council, 21 February, 1853.

¹⁰ An interesting hark-back to the early days of the teachers' associations was the formation in the late 1850's of "Pupil-Teachers' Mutual Improvement Associations", e.g. at Leeds, Cheltenham, Liverpool, Lewes, South London and Islington.

The 1846 Minutes gave a profound impetus towards the formation of mutual-improvement groups. As we have seen, opportunity was given to the existing teachers to compete for the certificate and many of the older teachers strove to become "government men".¹¹ Most of these groups met weekly and relied on their own members to provide the instruction, though the assistance of the clergy was often sought, and in the large towns a few societies were sufficiently well established to draw up a syllabus and engage special lecturers. These groups played their part in promoting a sense of unity and a habit of meeting together. By 1852 many of their members had obtained the certificate and attempts to form larger unions are to be found. In these attempts the older teachers were assisted by the young ex-pupil-teachers who were just beginning to leave the colleges. By its very nature, the system of training pupil-teachers with its final two years in a residential training college was bound to give them an exalted idea of their attainments and function. As Dr Temple said before the Newcastle Commission, "(the fact that they are trained in separate institutions) . . . gives them too exalted a notion of their position and of what they have to do . . . (so that) . . . they gradually acquire a sort of belief that the work of a schoolmaster is the one great work of the day, and that they are the men to do it".¹² This growing professional pride of the certificated teachers, their growing sense of solidarity with other teachers and their awareness of themselves as having interests apart from and indeed sometimes in antagonism to those of the clergy was soon apparent in the founding of teachers' periodicals, in the formation of regional unions and in the steps they took to oppose the new management clauses in 1852.

The pupil-teachers had their own grievances against the clergy and the schoolmasters. The correspondence columns of *The Pupil Teacher* (and in particular "The Editors' Council") were filled with complaints about pupil-teachers being forced to attend Sunday school or sweep and dust the school-room, at their being insulted or disciplined by the teacher in public, at their instruction being skimped, etc.

"A teacher who had been a member of one such group wrote, "I often think of that group. The earnestness and solicitude for self-improvement and well-conditioned schools which they all displayed. The zeal and industry of the masters did not surprise me, but when I saw their wives, women of middle age and mothers of families, diligently and anxiously seeking to prepare themselves for new and onerous duties, I was astonished at their courage and perseverance." (*The School and the Teacher*, September 1856, "Fifteen Years among National Schools")

"B.P.P., 1861, XXI, Pt. I, p. 161.

The Management Clause Controversy

The running fight between the Committee of Council and the National Society over the management clauses of schools receiving government grants commenced immediately after the Minute of April 1846. With the extension of State aid to education, the Committee of Council had attempted to put the management of the church schools on a formal basis and to bring the laity into their management. Under the management clauses as they stood in 1852, the clergyman was left in complete control of the religious instruction of the school but on any other matter (including selection, appointment and dismissal of teachers and pupil-teachers) the committee of management was to rule.¹³ In cases of dispute the matter was to be referred to various committees of appeal, each consisting of persons "representing both the civil and spiritual authorities".

The National Society objected to both the compulsory lay committee of management and the equal share of the civil authority in cases of dispute. The discussion aroused strong emotions on both sides and at one time led the National Society to discontinue its practice of recommending church schools to accept the management clauses. Each year the National Society pressed its demand that the entire control of the secular as well as the religious instruction of the church schools should rest with the clergy.

In 1852 the newly formed government of Lord Derby yielded to pressure and issued a Minute giving the clergy the right to dismiss a teacher "on account of his or her defective or unsound instruction of the children in religion, *or on other moral or religious grounds*", and also the right "to suspend such teacher pending such reference as aforesaid to the Bishop". There were heated protests from the nonconformists and Liberals and Lord John Russell stated that, "it is quite clear that this alteration places the schoolmaster in entire dependence upon the Bishop. . . . The consequence of this altered Minute is to degrade and lower the condition of every schoolmaster."¹⁴

¹³ The committee of management was to consist of lay members of the Church of England with the minister acting as ex-officio chairman with a second casting vote.

¹⁴ Quoted in the *Educational Expositor*, March 1853.

The Athenaeum, 19 March, 1853, wrote that, "The 'moral ground' is a clause which covers the entire range of the teachers' action; and the power

While the reactions of the Liberals were to be expected, the reaction of the church teachers surprised even their "patrons" and "supporters". A few days after the publication of the Minute, a deputation was sent from the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association" to Lord John Russell with a memorial setting forth the serious consequences to teachers if the new Minute were to be sanctioned by Parliament. The association was immediately reminded by its patron, the Bishop of London, that it was departing from the object which it had prescribed for itself when he had consented to become the patron (i.e. "mutual improvement"), and His Lordship resigned his office.¹⁵ The association was forced to repudiate its Committee and declare its loyalty to the Church, whereupon the Lord Bishop resumed his office.

The fight continued and the militants in the association formed a separate "Committee of Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters". They sent an appeal to all church teachers throughout the country asking for help, and at least ten country associations were said to have unanimously adopted resolutions approving of the appeal, and of the steps taken by the Metropolitan Committee. On 19 February, 1853, a deputation of schoolmasters waited on the Lord President of the Council (Earl Granville)¹⁶ at the Council Office, to present a memorial from the church schoolmasters and schoolmistresses of England and Wales, against the altered management clauses.¹⁷ On 2 April, 1853, the new Committee of Council cancelled the 1852 Minute.¹⁸

to suspend renders the clergyman a judge in his own case and the execution of his own sentence. If this system were to find support in parliament, it would be well to try the Dessau plan at once, and condemn our schoolmasters to sweep the floors and ring the church bells as a check on secular pride."

"The Committee of the Association attempted to placate the Lord Bishop by stating that they trusted "that these proceedings will not be misunderstood or misinterpreted. They feel assured that no class of men could be found more attached and devoted to the Church of England than national schoolmasters generally" or more anxious to pay due respect to those who have the rule over them and watch for their souls."

"The Liberals had in the meantime been returned to office

"The memorialists stated: "that they did not desire any arrangement which should interfere with the due influence which the clergy should exercise in the education of the youth of their parishes, but they believe that the Minute issued by the late government allowed an exercise of arbitrary power in the clergy which was unjust, and certain to evoke feelings of distrust between the clergyman and the teacher . . ."

"The later history of the "Committee of Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters" is of some interest. They formed an action group inside the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association" and in 1854 succeeded in

While it would be wrong to over-estimate the influence of the church teachers in forcing the withdrawal of the 1852 Minute, to the teachers themselves their action was of the utmost significance. For the first time church teachers had acted not only in independence of, but also in opposition to, the clergy. The memorial and deputations of the Metropolitan teachers had been supported from all parts of the country and had been received kindly by the Committee of Council. Union on a specific issue led to immediate attempts to form a permanent national union.

The National Associations

The first moves to form a national association came from twelve Birmingham schoolmasters who, towards the end of 1851, sent a memorial to the Committee of the National Society asking the society to establish a general conference of teachers in London, annually or otherwise. The matter was referred to the "Schools Committee" and nothing more was heard of it. On 24 August, 1852, the Liverpool Church Schoolmasters' Association celebrated its first anniversary.¹⁹ In its annual report it expressed the hope "that the associations throughout the country may be more closely united by frequent correspondence and interchange of papers".²⁰ Later in the same year Mr. Boardman (of Liverpool) read a paper before his association on the need for a national association. The Liverpool Association corresponded with the Manchester Association and in Easter week, 1853, a meeting of church schoolmasters was held at St. Philip's School, Birmingham, to discuss plans for a union of the whole body of church schoolmasters in England and Wales.²¹ At the meeting a series of resolutions were unanimously passed on the needs for a union of the whole body of church schoolmasters in England and Wales, the naming of definite text-books for the certificate examinations, the appointing of masters of elementary schools to the

capturing the Association and altering its object to read "... the furtherance of education and the improvement of schoolmasters. . . ." The Bishop of London remained the patron.

¹⁹ By 1853 there were large associations of church teachers in Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Cheshire and Yorkshire. The Yorkshire Association had seventy-two present at the first Annual Meeting in 1853.

²⁰ *Papers for the Schoolmaster*, October 1852.

²¹ As well as the large contingents from Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham there were representatives or individual teachers from Bridgenorth, Crewe, Derby, Harborne, Leamington, London, Loughborough, Northampton, Norton, Rotherham, Sheffield, Tamworth and Warwick.

office of sub-inspector, the provision of government annuities for teachers and the determination of a fixed curriculum of work in each school to be submitted to the inspector at his annual visit. A memorial to the Committee of Council on text-books, inspectorships and annuities was drafted and it was decided to circulate it among the teachers of England and Wales, for their opinions and signatures, before it was sent to the Council office.²² A committee was appointed and plans were made for dividing the country into nine districts, each with a secretary in direct touch with the General Secretary and with the local associations in his district.

The first Annual Meeting of "The General Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters in England and Wales" (A.B.C.S.) was held in London on 29 and 30 December, 1853. The membership of the association was 400; eighteen associations sent representatives and seven more "signified their approval". The tone of the meeting was set by Mr. Boardman who said:

"Thus movement of the teacher is liable to be, and even has been, misunderstood. and that, I fear, by persons whose esteem is most deeply valued by the church schoolmaster. But we are perfectly conscious of the purity of our motives"

Boardman put the "social position" question on one side:

"Wherefore all this discussion and verbiage spent in demanding a higher social position if we are unworthy of it. 'Tis sheer folly. Let us earn a higher position by our work, our intelligence, our conduct, and not go about the country inviting people to respect us, and mourning because they pay no attention to us. . . ."

²² The account of the meeting continued "the present system of a single association, or of a few masters, memorializing the Committee of Council on matters vitally affecting the whole body of teachers, without that body being consulted, is open to very grave objections, and it is felt that the opinions of a very considerable number of those for whom legislation is sought should be obtained upon such memorials, before they are presented to the authorities" (*Educational Expositor*, August 1853). The reference is to the actions of the Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association. The tendency of the London teachers to regard themselves as the natural leaders of the profession and the refusal of the provincial (in particular northern) teachers to accept their leadership had been a source of weakness to the profession. The Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association refused to enter into union with the Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters. Even after the formation of the N.U.E.T. the Metropolitan Board Teachers had their own association (the "Metropolitan Board Teachers' Association", later the "London Teachers' Association"). Minor hostility still exists between the L.T.A. and the other district associations of the N.U.T.

²³ Church schoolmistresses were admitted, but nothing at all is heard of them taking any active part in association activities.

Boardman asked for promotion of teachers to the grammar and endowed schools, lectureships in training colleges and sub-inspectorships and for a superannuation scheme. Throughout the first conference we can see the desire to re-assure the authorities that here was not another "Trades' Union" and that the motives of the teachers were higher than mere "self-advancement". "Self-improvement" rather than "self-advancement" was to be their motto, "Elevate yourself and your position must be elevated" was their watchword.

In spite of all its attempts to remain outside controversy, the A.B.C.S. was almost broken up in 1855 over the issue of whether or not to admit clergy to membership. The Doncaster Association decided early in 1855 "that the managerial power should be confided wholly or principally to the schoolmasters: it was thought that there would be more freedom of speech and action if the attendance of the clergy were dispensed with at the majority of the meetings".²⁴ While the action of the Doncaster Association was strictly speaking a matter for itself alone, the Northampton District Association, led by its young secretary, J. J. Graves,²⁵ decided to bring the issue before the annual conference and adopted five resolutions in favour of clergymen being admitted as members and officials of the A.B.C.S. Graves wrote a letter to *The School and the Teacher* in which he gave among other reasons for including the clergy, that clergy and schoolmasters were both engaged in winning souls to Christ, that by admitting the clergy the schoolmaster would rise in the social scale and, lastly, that the clergy would contribute to the finances of the association.

At the third Annual Meeting of the A.B.C.S., after a long discussion on the Northampton resolutions, the following amendment was passed by a large majority.

²⁴ *The School and the Teacher*, March 1855. It should be added that "several of the clerical members of the association were of the same opinion" It was decided in the end "that the clergy should be requested to attend only the four quarterly meetings, of which the annual meeting would be one, and that the other eight meetings should be exclusively schoolmasters' meetings"

²⁵ J. J. Graves was the Secretary of the A.B.C.S. from 1857 to 1863 and 1866-9, first president of the N.U.E.T. and a member of its executive from 1870 to 1900. He commenced teaching in 1846 at St Anne's School, Soho, and from 1851 to 1901 was headmaster of the Endowed School, Lamport. Throughout his life he was a firm believer in the church system of education and an advocate of the interests of the church inside the N.U.T. He died in February 1903.

"That while cordially recognizing the value of the countenance of the clergy, and their co-operation with the teacher, in the education of the young, and while anxious to cherish that important and desirable connection, this meeting is nevertheless of opinion, that the general working of the A.B.C.S. would necessarily be impeded by the admission of members of any other profession whatever."

In spite of the length and bitterness of the discussion there was no secession of membership.

While many of the clergy were antagonistic to independent schoolmasters' associations, and others were grieved at the loss of an opportunity to work with the schoolmasters, a few were in favour of the idea of an independent scholastic profession. We have seen how at the original meeting of the Doncaster Association which excluded the clergy "several of the clerical members of the association were of the same opinion". At the annual dinner of the Yorkshire District Association²⁶ the Rev. F. Watkins, H.M.I., expressed his approval of the schoolmasters' association and was glad to find that the members of the society had decided "to allow none but those who followed their profession to belong to the association".²⁷ Again, it is necessary to remark that the exclusion of the clergy from the A.B.C.S. did not alter the attachment of the national teachers to the church. Even after the A.B.C.S. had barred the clergy from membership, they always included an address by a prominent clergyman in the programme of their annual meeting and conference was opened with a prayer. More important, denominational difference kept the church teachers from entering a comprehensive union until 1870.

While the A.B.C.S. was still in process of formation, Mr. Edward Hughes wrote a letter to the editors of the *Educational Expositor* suggesting the formation of a comprehensive union "of

²⁶ This powerful association was founded in 1852 and in 1856 had 110 members. It excluded the clergy from membership and tended to rely on its own members for lectures. Members of the clergy were, however, allowed to attend meetings. The Yorkshire Association had unanimously opposed the admission of the clergy to the A.B.C.S. "the objects of schoolmasters' associations (being) of an entirely professional and practical character".

²⁷ Watkins also said that . . . "although he was sure that he and his reverend brethren wished them every prosperity and success, yet he was persuaded that it was better for the clergy to take no part in the deliberations of the association . . . he was sure that if the clergy attended their meetings it would prevent free discussion among them . . . it would either lead to a suppression, or a gross exaggeration of facts and therefore he was convinced that the proceedings of the schoolmasters' association should be free and unfettered, and conducted solely by those who belonged to the scholastic profession".

all those who are professionally engaged in the duties of Christian education, from the highest to the lowest, whether in Church of England schools or Protestant Dissenting schools. We should not like to see any sectarian differences prevent schoolmasters from co-operating with one another for the attainment of this great object. The discussion of questions of dogmatic theology does not and cannot form part of that object."²⁸

On 19 November, 1853; a convening meeting was held at the St. Thomas, Charterhouse Schools in London. The meeting was attended by many prominent London teachers and training college tutors from National, British and Foreign, Home and Colonial, Congregational and "Middle Class" establishments. At this meeting a resolution was proposed "that the association shall consist exclusively of masters of public elementary schools". This resolution would have excluded masters of private schools and training college tutors and included Roman Catholic and secular teachers. After an animated and lengthy discussion, the resolution was lost and Rule 2 of the association finally ran:

"That the association embraces all teachers (public and private) who acknowledge the essential doctrines of Christianity, and the sufficiency of Holy Scripture, as the rule of faith and practice, and who regard the Bible as the only sure basis of true education."²⁹

On 31 December, 1853, the first Annual General Meeting of the "United Association of Schoolmasters" (U.A.S.) was held at Shaftesbury Hall, Aldersgate Street, London, with Alderman Challis (late Lord Mayor of London) in the chair. The U.A.S. welcomed the formation of the A.B.C.S. for "far from impeding (this association of church schoolmasters), may even facilitate, the establishment of a really general association, as it will enable the church schoolmasters the better to send delegates from their own body to attend the meetings of the larger society". The A.B.C.S., however, refused to enter into any kind of relationship with the U.A.S. on the grounds that "church schoolmasters want to avoid the various differences and interminable disputes which appear to be inseparably connected with a society embracing

²⁸ *Educational Examiner*, July 1853. Hughes seems to have been influenced by the example of the "American Institution of Instruction" (founded 1830).

²⁹ The question of admitting all "who are professionally engaged in education" to membership of the association was taken up again at the annual general meeting on 28 and 29 December, 1856. After a heated debate the motion to admit was lost.

schoolmasters of every religious creed".³⁰ Throughout its existence, the U.A.S. was under the control of the London training college tutors and masters of central and model schools.³¹ The hostility felt by members of the A.B.C.S. towards the U.A.S. was not due solely to religious antagonism. To religious difference were added the dislike of the London teachers by the provincial teachers, a general status hostility towards training college tutors and personal jealousies and rivalries between individual teacher leaders. It is true that throughout the period instruction was becoming more secular and the church teachers were becoming increasingly aware of their independent professional existence. Pupil-teacherdom, the two years' residence at a training college, augmentation grants paid directly to the teacher, all tended to weaken the teachers' intellectual dependence on the Church. Signs of this are to be found not only in the U.A.S. but also in the A.B.C.S., in the titles of the lectures given before them, the attitudes expressed in lectures and discussions and the resolutions proposed at general meetings. The teachers still found it impossible to unite - and even the Revised Code controversy, although it brought partial attempts at unity among the London teachers, failed to unite the profession.

The U.A.S. concerned itself in the main with "education" rather than with advancing "the professional interests of schoolmasters". Meetings were devoted in the main to lectures on

* There were later attempts by the U.A.S. to unite with the A.B.C.S. In November 1856 Edwin Simpson wrote to *The School and the Teacher* in favour of the amalgamation of the two unions. J. T. Rathbone wrote in reply that "It was hoped . . . we should hear no more of a desire . . . that we should sacrifice our principles on the shrine of secularism . . . Why are we urged by churchmen to admit dissenters, when the parties most interested, so far from applying to us for admission set up an antagonistic society, and receive into their ranks, men of all shades of opinion, and likewise willingly accept pecuniary aid in their financial difficulties, from every quarter whence it can be obtained? It is an undeniable fact, that the 'Associated Body' as well as the 'United Association', is crippled in its working through lack of funds; but, proof is not wanting, that our feebleness consists in the extreme degree of caution, combined with an indifference to the advantages of association, evidenced by our brethren in charge of church schools, rather than lack of members to form a good society, without extraneous aid."

"In 1854, for example, the U.A.S. had 211 members of whom 132 came from the London area. This small membership (which included honorary members) was in spite of great efforts at advertising. Some 5500 "statements of character and objects" and 8000 "Gazettes" were distributed to certificated teachers. See *The Gazette of the United Association of Schoolmasters of Great Britain*, 1854.

"There were local attempts to form comprehensive associations, e.g. at Bristol. Note also the comprehensive "Western Union of Teachers"

educational subjects³² delivered by experienced teachers, training college tutors and educationists. The association also tried to form an educational library and an educational museum for it hoped to increase the efficiency of primary instruction by promoting "among its members the study of education as a science, whose principles must be investigated with a philosophical spirit, in connection with the laws of mind, and tested by careful observation and experiment".

There were various reasons why the U.A.S. should be less concerned with the "professional interests" of the teacher than the A.B.C.S. It has been noted already that the nonconformist teacher had a higher status among the parents of the children he taught and that he tended to be less dissatisfied with his social position. The London teachers were more highly paid than teachers in the rest of the country, and the training college tutors who dominated the U.A.S. were the most highly paid of all. The "social isolation" of the teacher was felt more keenly in the country than in the towns. The U.A.S. was also less enterprising in pushing the claims of the teacher because almost all its members were members of other associations.³⁴

The A.B.C.S., from its foundation, devoted a great deal of its attention to "representing to the proper authorities any defects or abuses in our educational system, and suggesting such modifications or additions as experienced teachers may deem desirable".³⁵ This was done by sending memorials, petitions and deputations to the Committee of Council. As early as 1853 the A.B.C.S. sent a memorial signed by some 725 church schoolmasters to the committee. The memorial was presented by H.M.I.s Moseley and Kennedy and concerned itself with promotion to sub-inspectorships, superannuation and the need for

³² Of the seventy-five papers read before the U.A.S. between December 1853 and December 1860, thirty-four were on individual subjects of instruction, twenty on general principles of teaching, eleven on educational politics, five on professional interests, three on the history of education and two on school architecture.

³⁴ "The London Association of Teachers", "British Teachers' Association", "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association", A.B.C.S. or the denominational associations of the Wesleyans or Congregationalists.

The U.A.S. disappeared during the Revised Code controversy in which it played no active part. Its members worked through their denominational associations or the "Central Committee of Schoolmasters".

³⁵ The U.A.S. also included as one of its objects "The expression of the collective opinion of schoolmasters on matters affecting their professional interests" (*Gazette*, 1854), but in practice did very little in this direction.

lists of text-books and classification of subjects for the pupil-teacher and certificate examinations.

In spite of the relatively small membership of the A.B.C.S. (in 1860 it had only 660 members), there is no doubt that it possessed much influence both among the church teachers and in educational affairs at large. While it lacked some of the distinguished support which was given to the U.A.S., amongst its leaders were many influential and competent teachers, and the association received the support of many of the clergy and inspectors. Its numbers, however, grew very slowly (the U.A.S., in spite of heroic efforts on the part of its supporters, actually declined from 250 members in 1855 to 177 members in 1860). In 1861, after the national associations had been in existence for eight years, their main problem lay not in the quality of their leadership but in the refusal of the mass of the teachers to provide them with the support necessary if the profession was ever to go beyond petitioning the Committee of Council. It is doubtful, however, if any degree of organization would have deflected the storm which broke upon the teachers in 1861.³⁶

³⁶ One association which lies outside the category of teachers' associations deserves mention both for the sake of completeness and also as evidence of the thirst for knowledge of the 'new schoolmasters'. 'The Social Science Association for Schoolmasters' was formed in May 1859, having for its object 'the study of social science, and how to teach it'. The Association was modelled on the "National Association for the Promotion of Social Science" and by April 1861 had approximately 300 members. Lectures were given at University College, London, in the Social and Natural Sciences.

CHAPTER FIVE

EDUCATIONAL REACTION AND THE REPORT OF THE NEWCASTLE COMMISSION

... "It is sad to find, that an appeal is being made, it may be unconsciously made, to old prejudices, which were thought for ever silenced True to the call, class jealousies, which had retired into corners, have come out to bask themselves once more in popular favour. A tongue has been given to an army of little opponents, who, in their secret hearts, hate and fear the education of the lower classes, but who had been shamed into obscurity at the dawn of a better day. . . "

Rev C H Bromby (January 1862).¹

The Nature of the Educational Reaction

The opposition to the form of State-aided voluntary education established by Kay-Shuttleworth did not disappear after the passage of the Minutes of 1846. It sought constantly to find weak points in the system and every minor failing was seized upon and exaggerated. Eventually this opposition succeeded, in 1858, in convincing Parliament of the need for a Royal Commission "to inquire into the present state of popular education in England, and to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people".² In this chapter, we are concerned with assessing the nature and significance of the opposition and discussing the main findings of the Newcastle Commission

It is important to realize that the opposition to the 1846 system came from at least six distinct sources. Firstly, there were those who believed that popular education was not being advanced with sufficient speed by the 1846 system. It was this group, led by Sir John Pakington, that was most active in the long and stormy Commons' debate of February 1858, which

¹ In an address to the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association", 18 January, 1862, on "The Principles and Prospects of Popular Education" (*Papers for the Schoolmaster*, February 1862)

² B.P.P., 1861, XXI, Pts. I-VI, Report, Reports of Assistant Commissioners, Digest of Evidence, Answers to Questions, etc., of the Newcastle Commission.

resulted in the passage of a motion asking for the appointment of a Royal Commission.

Secondly, there were those who opposed the 1846 system because they considered that it was giving the poor child a better education than the child of the middle classes was receiving in the "middle-class" schools of the time. Associated with this opposition were those who did not fear that the poor child was receiving a better education than the middle-class child but only that he was receiving an education that unfitted him for his place in society.³ As early as 1849, J. C. Wigram (late Honorary Secretary of the National Society) warned the middle classes that unless they educated their children there would be "an inversion of the orders of the society". Unless the middle classes advanced their families "according to the intellectual progress of the age" they would be unable to "maintain the superior position which God (had given them) in society, and preserve to (their) children the inheritance which (their) parents (had) bequeathed to them".⁴ Wigram continued:

"Look at the difficulties under which farmers and our tradesmen are striving, at the sacrifices they are obliged to make to educate their families; and is it not unjust to tax them in order to give their labourers and workmen's children an education which they cannot give to their own? As long as the education in our parochial schools was confined to religious teaching, it was a matter of Christian charity that all ranks should be taught equally the way to heaven. It was the duty of a Christian State to provide schools as well as churches for those unable to provide them for themselves. But now that we seek to give secular as well as religious instruction in our schools, surely it is unjust to force the middle class to pay for educating the children of the masses more than they can afford to educate their own."

The middle classes made attempts to improve their own education. Their main need was for qualified teachers but despite all their efforts few certificated teachers could be attracted into the

³ The difficulty of getting servants was blamed on the unsettling effects of education. It was said that "young women are monstrously over-educated for their stations, to the neglect of homely and useful acquirements and to their disgust for the plain paths of duty" (quoted by *Papers for the Schoolmaster*, September 1859, from the remarks of Mr. Warren to the Grand Jury of Hull upon "the vanity and profligacy of domestic servants")

⁴ "*Present Aspects of Popular Education*" *A Charge delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Archdeaconry of Winchester, at his Second General Visitation in April 1849*, by Joseph C. Wigram, M.A., Archdeacon of Winchester (1849).

middle-class schools. It was in vain that Derwent Coleridge advised them:

"Let the education of all classes proceed *pari passu*, but let it not be checked in any part to preserve the stable equilibrium of stagnation. . . . Ill indeed do the upper classes understand their own interest if they see in this movement any danger to their prerogative. Its real tendency is to preserve the existing map of society, while it softens its demarcations."¹

The middle classes, given no encouragement by the State to re-organize the education of their own children, turned their attentions to "controlling" the education of the poor.

Thirdly, there were those who directed their attack on the person of the teacher. The certificated teacher was said to have been over-educated for his position and this over-education had made him conceited² and over-ambitious, had led him to ape his betters in dress³ and to press for a higher social position. His discontent with his position was said to lead him to move constantly from school to school and finally to desert the profession and compete with the children of the middle classes in the new white-collar occupations. These actions were made more difficult to bear because the teacher was said to owe his education, training and position to the charity of the middle classes. The "over-education" of the teacher was said to produce two more evil results. In the first place, he was accused of neglecting the groundwork of education and the less intelligent children, and for this reason many children left school unable to read or write. In the second place, the certificated teacher was said to over-educate his more intelligent pupils and make them unfit for their position in life. Thus stated, the argument has more clarity and logic than ever appeared in the writings of the time. What we

¹ Derwent Coleridge, *The Teachers of the People*, 1862, pp. 40-1.

² Incidents like the following explain much of the hostility to the new teachers: "Is it not ridiculous," exclaimed a lady patron when she saw the first class drawing a map of Europe from memory, "to see girls who will probably be my servants taught to do that which I cannot do myself." I merely replied: "Improve your time practice makes perfect: in elevating the mind we elevate the body" (*National Society Monthly Paper*, August 1855, Letter from "Maitre d'école" on "The Enemies of Education").

³ "She must not dress above her station", is the cry of the clergyman's family and committee of ladies, consequently the new mistress is subjected to the painfully unpleasant process of analysis, and being pronounced guilty of 'dressing as well as themselves', is punished by being made to feel her inferiority in ways too numerous to mention" (*Educational Guardian*, March 1861; Letter from "A Young Schoolmistress").

find from 1848 onwards is a series of disconnected statements ranging from serious analyses of wastage from the profession to virulent attacks by those who wished to see the teacher "taken down a peg" and put more completely under the control of the clergy.

The fourth group to oppose the 1846 system were the "extreme" nonconformists (and in particular the congregationalists). Many of the nonconformists would rather have had no education at all than church education, and many more were only too eager to be convinced that the church schools and the church teachers were utterly inefficient. Any step towards their aim of a "rate-aided, popularly controlled, non-sectarian system" would be sure of a welcome.

The fifth group was composed of those who opposed any extension of State interference in national life and attacked the so-called "bureaucratic centralization" of education.

The sixth group (led by Gladstone, Bright and Wise) were most concerned with 'the growing burden of the government grant for education'. The grant had in fact risen from £150,000 in 1851 to £836,920 in 1859.

Even before the Newcastle Commission was appointed in 1858, there had been signs of a change in government policy. In July 1857, the Committee of Council decided to withdraw the condition that seven-tenths of the whole school income should be applied to the teachers' salary and from 1856 onwards, much greater stress was laid by "their Lordships" upon proficiency in the three R's. Change after change was made in the training college syllabus in the direction of limiting the number of subjects taught and the extent to which each was studied. The attention of the inspectors was specially directed to seeing that the education given should "avoid the charge of flying too high". After the appointment of the Commission, "their Lordships" passed Minutes withholding all further building grants for

* It is possible to detect this "nonconformist bias" among early educational historians. In more recent times an "anti-religious bias" and a "flesh-creeping bias" has even further exaggerated the inefficiency of education in 1861.

* *Circulars to Inspectors, 1856-8*. The Revised Code was foreshadowed by the words, "Your inspection . . . should never fail to begin by exacting (through specific exercises) strict proof of power to use the first instruments of knowledge, and no appearance of general intelligence or of general information should be allowed to redeem failure in this respect from a severely condemnatory report."

training colleges, reducing building grants for common schools by three-eighths and suspending the extension of capitation grants to Scotland. They also intimated to the training colleges that Queen's Scholarships "would only be allowed to such as bound each Queen's Scholar to a lifelong service."

The teachers saw the approaching attack and some of the forces behind it. A leader in *The School and the Teacher* stated that there had been an increasing agitation against "too much education" for the children of the poor; "too much education" for their teachers, and continued "too much education, for either teachers or taught? Nobody believes it. The really true paraphrase should be, too *dear* education, for either teacher or taught."¹⁰ In face of the threat, the teachers' periodicals urged teachers to unite. An attempt was made by Harry Chester (late Assistant Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education) to unite the London teachers, and the A.B.C. S. tried to put itself in contact with all the Schoolmasters' Associations in England and Wales. The teachers looked ahead with foreboding to the report of the Commission. They knew the mood of the middle classes and what they could expect at their hands.

The Newcastle Commission

The Report, evidence and papers of the Newcastle Commission were published in six large volumes containing between them some 3450 large closely printed pages. The controversy let loose by the Report lasted for over a year. Streams of pamphlets of varying size and value, leaders in newspapers, articles in periodicals, letters to the Press, petitions, resolutions and debates, all add to the difficulty of analysis.

In analysing the conflict, various questions will be posed in turn

(1) What kind of evidence did the Commissioners have before them? From whom did they obtain it? What was the validity of this evidence?

(2) What was the relationship of this evidence to the Report?

¹⁰ *The School and the Teacher*, August 1860. It was during this period that there is noticeable an increasing interest in the teachers' journals with the "condition of the working classes" and a hope that when they came to power they would "free him (the teacher) from those incumbrances which thwart his efforts and cripple his resources" (*The School and the Teacher*, July 1861).

To what extent did the Commissioners select their evidence to bolster up previously existing views on the nature of the "educational problem"?

(3) Which parts of the Report, recommendations and evidence of the Commission were taken up by the Press, public, Parliament and teachers and how did this selective bias relate to our previous analysis of the state of opinion in 1861? How did the controversy develop over time?

(4) What was the relation between the Revised Code, the Report and evidence of the Commissioners and the "education controversy"? To what extent did political and personality factors enter into the formulation of the Revised Code?

(5) How did the controversy develop after the promulgation of the Revised Code?

(6) Finally, what were the short-term and long-term effects of the (re-) Revised Code?

The first two questions will be taken up in this chapter, the next three in Chapter VI and the last in Chapter VII

Evidence

The most important evidence used by the Commissioners was that collected by the ten assistant commissioners.¹¹ They were appointed on 7 October, 1858, and were provided with full instructions concerning the way in which they were to go about their duties. Their statistical inquiries and those into the "condition, methods and results of education" covered almost the whole field of educational problems.¹² They were directed to inquire into the "will and power of parents to send their children to school and to keep them there" They were also told to inquire into the general condition of the schoolmasters in their districts, whether their schools were public or private and to devote attention to whether there existed "over-education" of teachers leading

¹¹ The Rev. James Fraser, M.A., Rev. Thomas Hedderley, M.A., J. S. Winder, Esq., George Coode, Esq., A. P. Foster, Esq., John Jenkins, Esq., Patric Cunin, Esq., J. M. Hare, Esq., Josiah Wilkinson, Esq. and Dr. W. B. Hodgson.

¹² The assistant commissioners were given an almost impossible task. Lord Lyttleton criticized their work in a parliamentary debate as follows: "It had been stated that in seven winter months or thirty weeks at 6 days a week, or about 150 working days, ten gentlemen had inspected 8926 schools containing 1,000,000 scholars, or at the rate of 10,000 a day, or 1000 in nine different schools, often wide apart, by each Assistant Commissioner each day".

them to neglect the elements of instruction, become dissatisfied and leave the profession.

Among the assistant commissioners were at least three men of outstanding intellectual ability: James Fraser, later Bishop of Manchester, Patric Cumin, later Secretary of the Education Department and W. B. Hodgson, later Professor of Commercial and Political Economy and Mercantile Law, in the Edinburgh University. Both Fraser and Hodgson wrote interesting and important reports. Both at the time and since, Fraser's report received much attention, while Hodgson's, although of equal importance, was ignored almost completely.¹³

Both Fraser, who inspected agricultural districts, and Hodgson, who inspected metropolitan districts, were concerned with what they considered to be the failure of the schools to teach the "elements of instruction".¹⁴ Fraser put part of the blame on "the impatience with which, when capable, they (the teachers) hurry the children over those elementary but fundamental portions of a subject without a clear perception of which an accurate knowledge of it in its higher branches, or as a whole, becomes ever after impossible" and another part of the blame on "the rapid change of teachers which occurs in some schools". Most of the blame he attributed to the inefficiency of the uncertificated teacher and the lack of "adequate funds preventing the employment of competent teachers". Given sufficient funds and trained teachers and given also that the managers superintended and controlled the work of the young teachers, there would be little difficulty with mis-direction of teaching effort into "secondary points of questionable advantage". Hodgson's analysis of the

¹³ One reason for later neglect may be that Fraser's was published at the beginning, and Hodgson's at the end, of the assistant commissioners' reports.

¹⁴ Fraser's words are often quoted "It appears, that out of 282 schools, only 100, little more than one in three, are in a condition that ought to be satisfactory either to teachers or managers: while not more than twenty-three or scarcely one in twelve—are in that state of efficiency which shall send forth a child at ten years of age into the world for the work of life, with that amount of scholarship which, when speaking of the limits of the school age, I attempted to describe." This quotation was used to prove the inefficiency of certificated teachers. It was pointed out in reply that of the 282 schools referred to by Fraser, the great majority were uninspected schools, that only sixty-five were under certificated teachers and only fifty-eight had the additional advantage of a pupil-teacher. It could be assumed that all, or nearly all, of the twenty-three efficient schools were among the fifty-eight which had the full benefit of the Privy Council grants, and that the remainder of the fifty-eight were among the 100 which might properly be considered satisfactory to teachers and managers (*B.P.P.*, 1862, *XLI*, pp. 233-4: *Memorial of the Committee of the Rochester Diocesan Training Institution*).

reasons for the relative failure of the schools was rather different. He put a great deal of the blame on the excessive amount of time devoted to religious instruction and made the striking statement that "whatever may be the case with the rich, the juvenile pauper cannot afford to be narcotized under pretence of being taught; vain is the attempt to engraft morality and religion on the stock of intellectual stupidity, but no amount of failure suffices to enlighten teachers and pastors on this point". An equal part of the blame was due to the excessive size of the classes, high rates of turnover among the pupils, early leaving ages and bad teaching methods. While Hodgson found a disposition to prefer "higher subjects", any such disposition was held effectually in check by regard for the prosperity of the school and the prospect of inspection. He mentioned the "opposite danger of reducing the standard to what is easy of accomplishment, in despair of doing more than it is absolutely requisite and easily possible to do". Both Fraser and Hodgson mentioned the constant rumours of over-education they had heard during their work and both denied that any such over-education did in fact exist. Both again found very little discontent among certificated teachers and denied that what did exist was of any great importance.¹¹

Although the Reports of the ten assistant commissioners differ in value and emphasis, a clear consensus of opinion emerges on three salient points. Firstly, they noted the existence (especially among the under-educated middle classes) of a general hostility to popular education and a certain pattern of beliefs about the

¹¹ Fraser did not himself "observe any tendency to dissatisfaction with their position in the masters and mistresses with whom I came personally into contact", but was told by several persons that dissatisfaction did exist (*B.P.P.*, 1861, Pt. II, pp. 95-6). He believed that cases of arrogance and conceit were "quite exceptional" and bore his humble testimony to the very admirable spirit in which the great body of certificated teachers whom I either saw in the course of this inquiry, or have the pleasure of being acquainted with elsewhere, are doing the work to which they have been called".

Hodgson also paid his tribute to the certificated teachers, stating that "in the acquaintance, I may say friendship, that I have formed with several, I have found some compensation for much that tended to discourage" (*B.P.P.*, 1861, XXI, Pt. III, pp. 541-4). He noted their self-possession and self-respect and wrote that "there is springing up a spirit of independence and *esprit de corps*, fostered by associations among teachers themselves, which will command respect or drive away all but the less competent; the less energetic members of the profession". Hodgson also said that "a well-trained master who knows his business, is not likely to endure without a grudge treatment such as I myself have been grieved to witness, treatment which the presence of a stranger renders more humiliating and more painful".

over-education of the poor which we discussed in the first part of this chapter. None of the assistant commissioners had much sympathy with this attitude or saw any evidence of the over-education of the mass of the children in the schools. Secondly, they noted the existence of a belief that the "elements of instruction" were not being taught as well as they could have been. The middle-class public believed that this was due to the teacher's neglect of the lower classes in favour of a few bright pupils and that this, in turn, was due to the over-education of the teacher. While the assistant commissioners were almost unanimous in stating that "elements of instruction" were being badly taught, they gave different reasons for this phenomenon. Most of them attributed it to the difficulties of the teacher's work (e.g. shortage of teaching power, truancy, early leaving age, bad teaching methods) and to the lack of practical experience of the young teachers. There was also a natural tendency for the certificated teacher to take the upper classes, leaving the relatively elementary work to the pupil-teachers. Fraser, Hodgson and Coode noted a disposition among highly trained teachers to hurry children over the elementary work in favour of the higher branches. Thirdly, the assistant commissioners noted the existence of a belief that, due to the "over-education" of the teachers, they were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the conditions of their work and with their "social position". About half of the assistant commissioners found evidence of this dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction was not universal and was stronger among the younger members of the profession, the most highly trained teachers and in the mining districts and London. Some of the assistant commissioners (e.g. Hodgson and Coode) saw the dissatisfaction as inevitable and even welcome and blamed much of the friction on the managers, while Foster alone saw it as dangerous. All the assistant commissioners were agreed that the certificated teachers were far superior to private teachers or uncertificated teachers and most of them paid tribute to their abilities.

In general, then, their Reports were favourable. Indeed, A. F. Foster (perhaps the most antagonistic to the certificated teachers) was to write in 1862:

"during the whole period that the assistants were in communication with the Chief Commissioners and with each other, comparing notes on the general facts which had been elicited, I have never heard a

whisper of the complaint which is now so loud, or of any other, against the general efficiency of the instruction conveyed in the Government schools".¹⁶

Volume V of the Report consists of answers to a circular of questions sent by the Commissioners to various persons interested in popular education.¹⁷ It is difficult to know what weight to give to the answers. The circular was sent to all sorts and conditions of people, including the Chief Rabbi, the Bishop of Carlisle, the Rev. Derwent Coleridge, the Countess of Macclesfield, Rev. F. D. Maurice, and a large number of clergymen, school managers, "friends" of education and a few teachers.¹⁸ The answers differ in value and it would be useless to attempt any statistical tabulation. There was a general vague fear of over-educating the poor and making them unfit for their station in life. Those with most experience of popular education tended to have least to say on the "over-education" of children or the conceit of teachers. Many clergy feared that moral training was being neglected in favour of intellectual achievement. Very few witnesses had any serious criticism to make of the 1846 system although the need for some form of government assistance to the smaller rural schools was mentioned.

Volume VI consists of the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Commissioners. It is perhaps the most useful volume for anyone wishing to obtain a true picture of the state of education at the time. The witnesses who were examined were educational

¹⁶ Letter to the *Methodist Recorder*, 29 May, 1862 (Quoted in *National Society Monthly Paper*, August 1863.)

¹⁷ The circular was also sent by some of the assistant commissioners to persons in their districts. See *B.P.P.*, 1861, XXI, Pt. II, pp. 32-14, 403-34, 599-617, and Pt. III, pp. 90-125, 409-56.

The circular included questions on what the respondents considered to be the desirable school-leaving age, the kind and amount of education the poor child should receive, the success or failure of existing schools, the proper qualifications for teachers, the proper training for teachers and the degree of dissatisfaction among trained teachers.

¹⁸ Among the teachers was Moses Angel (Headmaster of the London Jews' Free School 1840-97) whose evidence is of great interest (see *B.P.P.*, 1861, XXI, Pt. V, pp. 44-76). Another teacher was the unfortunate Mr. John Snell of East Coker, Yeovil, who by stating the usual schoolmaster case (demanding a higher social position, promotion to the Inspectorate, etc.) played directly into the hands of those who were attempting to show that all teachers were dissatisfied. The *Quarterly Review* was to say of him that "the unfortunate pedagogue did not know that the Commissioners were only giving him plenty of rope, he and others like him have thoroughly succeeded in hanging both themselves and their more modest brethren" (quoted in *Educational Guardian*, August 1862: For Snell's evidence see *B.P.P.*, 1861, XXI, Pt. V, pp. 386-406).

experts in the full sense of the word. The first point that strikes one about their evidence is that, almost unanimously, they were strongly in favour of the 1846 system and had only a few minor complaints to make. The second is that some of the Commissioners in their questions to witnesses revealed an intense dislike of the 1846 system.¹⁹

R. R. W. Lingen has often been blamed as the villain behind the scenes who was responsible for the Revised Code. In his evidence before the Commission he appeared as a warm supporter of the 1846 system on every count except one. He defended the existing system of inspection, the pupil-teacher and training college systems, denied that teachers were over-educated or that wastage constituted a serious problem. He stated flatly that payment by individual results was impossible and although admitting that the three R's were not as well taught as they could be, thought that much of this was due to shifting and irregular attendance. His one criticism (but this a crucial one) was that by its very nature the 1846 system threw an enormous quantity of detailed work on the central office. There was no way of shifting any of the work on to the inspector without losing the uniformity of the system. Decentralization would be blocked by the denominational question and because of administrative complications it would not be possible to extend the system much further without considerable changes. The only way in which the system could be extended would be by simplifying the payments and Lingen suggested that the payments should take the form of a capitation grant based upon the existing system of inspection. Lingen stated clearly that the difficulty of extending the existing system was not inherently impossible but was solely that of obtaining sufficient funds from a Parliament which was not only "alarmed" by the increase in educational expenditure but also jealous of any increase in patronage which would be involved in enlarging the education department.

Towards the end of his evidence, Lingen answered a series of questions which were to provide the excuse for the government's "betrayal" of the teacher. He was asked:

¹⁹ This was especially true of the Rev. W. C. Lake, who was constantly harping on the over-education of teachers and the "useless" knowledge taught in training colleges. He suggested a form of "payment by results" to several of the witnesses. Rev. William Rogers and Goldwin Smith also seem to have been unfriendly towards the 1846 system.

631. Where there is a schoolmaster who has been educated to that profession, and receives an augmentation according to his certificate, could you, without a breach of public faith, suddenly say, "We will give him no more"; must you not continue all the payments now existing in which there is a vested right? . . . I should say that there was not a vested right, and that it was not necessary to continue those grants, after reasonable notice.

The one exception to the generally favourable attitude towards the existing system was the Rev. Frederick Temple²⁰ who objected to it on the grounds that it tended towards enormous expense, was over-rigid and tended to diminish local interest in education and lead educators to lean too much on the government. His evidence reveals that he was thinking his way towards an educational system very similar to that erected by Forster's Education Act of 1870. On the "teacher problem", Temple considered that there was a good deal of discontent among the younger teachers with their social position but that it was neither an important nor a permanent evil. He considered that one of the dangers of training schoolmasters in separate seminaries was that "it gives them too exalted a notion of their position and of what they have to do, and that they gradually acquire a sort of belief that the work of a schoolmaster is the one great work of the day, and that they are the men to do it".²¹

We are now in a position to answer the first question posed on p. 62.

What kind of evidence did the Commissioners have before them? From whom did they obtain it? What was the validity of this evidence?

The leading conclusion that emerges from an examination of the evidence is that, on the whole, the 1846 system was working

²⁰ Rev. Frederick Temple was in succession Principal of Kneller Hall Training College, Her Majesty's Inspector of Training Colleges for Men, Headmaster of Rugby School, Bishop of Exeter, Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury. He played an extremely important part in the development of education in the nineteenth century. The *Dictionary of National Biography* describes his social views as follows: "In his change from youthful torism to liberalism two main ideas possessed his mind: first, the need of raising the condition of the working classes, and secondly, the conviction that their amelioration could only be effected by enabling them to help themselves" (*Dictionary of National Biography*, Second Supplement, vol. III, p. 490).

²¹ *B.P.P.*, 1861, XXI, Pt. VI, p. 363.

Or as *The Times* put it: "The inflated nonsense which has been talked and written about the sacred and lofty mission of the schoolmaster has had some share in exciting a tendency to dissatisfaction" (*The Times*, 1 April, 1861).

surprisingly well and that the main needs were to bring the smaller rural schools into the system and to bring the lowest classes of the population into the schools and keep them there. The "elements of instruction" could be better taught and the teachers needed both more instruction in the art of school management and also more qualified assistance in the schools. There was general opposition to any form of "payment by results" and the forms of "payment by results" suggested by a few witnesses bore no relation to the form eventually adopted. There was an almost unanimous conviction of the efficiency of the existing system of inspection.

The only serious criticism that had been brought against the 1846 system was that a great deal of detailed work was thrown on the central office and particularly on the Secretary. As against this, it was said that much of this difficulty could have been solved by minor simplifications of procedure, re-organization of the office and an ampler staff.²² The jealousy of a Liberal House of Commons at the growth of the civil service was the main difficulty. There was, however, a case for the decentralization of the business of the central office and the introduction of a system of local boards partially financed by rates.

The Report

Turning to the second question posed on p. 62.

What was the relationship of this evidence to the Report? To what extent did the Commissioners select their evidence to bolster up previously existing views on the nature of the "educational problem"?

The Commissioners, in their Report, considered that the faults which were usually, though somewhat vaguely, ascribed to certificated teachers, and which were supposed to arise from too high a training, were in fact to be ascribed to the opposite cause. They arose, not from over-refinement but from vulgarity.

"The use of ambitious language, vain display of knowledge, the over-looking what is essential and elementary, a failure to see what

²² The Newcastle Commission (*BPP*, 1861, XXI, Pt. I, p. 26) gives details of the permanent establishment as being composed of one vice-president, one secretary, two assistant secretaries, ten examiners, two clerks, forty-seven assistant clerks, one architect and one counsel. The total establishment of sixty-five cost £17,585 a year.

it really is which perplexes a child, are the faults which an educated person avoids, and into which an uneducated person falls."²³

The Commissioners agreed with H.M.I. Moseley's opinion, that even when the instruction to be given was elementary, considerable cultivation on the part of the teacher was required. They thought, however, that the teaching of many of the subjects in training colleges was only too likely to degenerate into a mere exercise of verbal memory.

Turning to the character of trained teachers when in actual charge of their schools, the Commissioners considered it proved beyond all doubt that they were greatly superior to the untrained teachers. But it was equally clear to the Commissioners that they failed to a considerable extent in some of the most important of the duties of elementary teachers, and that a large proportion of the children were not being taught satisfactorily. The Commissioners attributed this to "the difficulty which superior teachers find in heartily devoting themselves to the drudgery of elementary teaching" They rejected the proposed solutions of discouraging the employment of trained teachers, altering the course of training or impressing upon the students the necessity of teaching the rudimentary subjects. They concluded:

"There is only one way of securing the results, which is to institute a searching examination by competent authority of *every child in every school to which grants are to be paid*, with the view of ascertaining whether these indispensable elements of knowledge are thoroughly acquired, and to make the prospects and position of the teacher dependent, to a considerable extent, on the results of the examination".²⁴

The Commissioners next considered the "behaviour and temper of trained teachers" They stated:

"We have met with some complaints of conceit and bad manners on the part of the teachers, but even if each complaint represented a case in which the teacher was to blame, these cases would not be

²³ B.P.P., 1861, XXI, Pt. I, p. 132.

²⁴ B.P.P., 1861, XXI, Pt. I, p. 157. The Commissioners had already dealt with the objection that the State had excited expectations in the minds of the teachers by the system of augmentation grants, which gave them moral right to their continuance. They stated that the State was not pledged to the permanence of the present system because it was supported by "sums voted annually, and not by a permanent charge on the consolidated fund".

Ibid., p. 149.

numerous enough to form a ground for any serious charge against the class as a class. It is probable that in many instances the teacher complained of is right, and the manager unduly exacting or susceptible."

The Commissioners noted the existence of a certain degree of dissatisfaction amongst some teachers mainly on the questions of social position, promotion and salaries and gave their opinion on the "state of the case" as:

"Boys who would otherwise go out to work at mechanical trades at twelve or thirteen years of age, are carefully educated at the public expense, from thirteen to twenty or twenty-one, and they are then placed in a position where they are sure of immediately earning, on an average, about £100 a year, by five days' work in the week, the days lasting only seven and a half hours, and they usually have six or seven weeks' vacation in the course of the year. After receiving these advantages at the public expense, they seem to complain that they are not provided with still further advantages, on a progressive scale, throughout the rest of their lives."

The Commissioners rejected outright the desire of the schoolmasters to be promoted to the Inspectorate on the grounds that "it is absolutely necessary that the inspectors should be fitted, by previous training and social position, to communicate and associate upon terms of equality with the managers of schools and the clergy of different denominations".²⁵ The Commission attributed the complaint of the schoolmasters that there was no chance of promotion in their profession to the fact that the remuneration of a schoolmaster "begins too early and rises by too steep gradients" and stated that "if the emoluments of the young schoolmaster were smaller, those of the older schoolmaster would appear greater, and there would be no complaint of the absence of promotion".

The Commissioners attributed much of the dissatisfaction felt by the teachers to the circumstances of their training. They quoted Dr. Temple (*op. cit.*, p. 69) on the effect of training schoolmasters in separate seminaries and concluded that "it is desirable that they (students at training colleges) should . . . be informed that the amount of honour and emolument attached

²⁵ While their low status barred the appointment of teachers as inspectors, the commission suggested that teachers should be appointed as "sub-inspectors".

to their calling depends, as is the case with other callings, not upon its intrinsic importance, but upon the feelings with which it is regarded by society at large".²⁶

The Commissioners, in their attack on the schools, made extensive use of a statement by H.M.I. Norris who claimed to have found that in Cheshire, Salop and Stafford only 25 per cent of the children stayed long enough to reach the first class.²⁷ Norris had calculated this figure to stress the need for some form of compulsion to keep the children longer at school.

This statement was repeated four times by the Commissioners, and was later to be repeated four times by Lowe in his speech of 13 February, 1862, and innumerable times by the Press. It was the fundamental argument on which the supporters of the Revised Code rested their case. The Rev. T. R. Birks, M.A., proved conclusively in 1862 that the figure H.M.I. Norris gave should have been 45-50 per cent.²⁸ Government supporters tried to belittle Birks' claim but H.M.I. Norris himself admitted that there had been an error in his calculations and that nearly half the children were perfectly educated in the elementary subjects.²⁹

²⁶ This view that the remuneration of the teacher should depend upon the social status of his calling is incompatible with the suggestion on p. 161 of the Report that "the advantages and disadvantages of their occupation are . . . dependent upon the market value of their services". On three successive pages the Commissioners gave three different determinants of the teacher's salary

- (1) The social status of their parents (p. 160)
- (2) The market value of their services (p. 161)
- (3) The social status of the teacher (p. 162)

This inconsistency was noted at the time

²⁷ "If I was asked, therefore, to describe generally what annual-grant schools of Cheshire and Staffordshire were accomplishing in the way of education, I should say that schools of this sort were now within reach of about one-half of the population, and that they were giving a very fair elementary education to one-fourth part of the children who passed through them --or more briefly that we had reached one-half, and were successfully educating one in eight of the class of children for which the schools were intended" (*B.P.P.*, 1860, LIV, Minutes, 1859-60, p. 111 J. P. Norris quoted in *B.P.P.*, 1861, XXI, Pt. I, pp. 244-5)

²⁸ Rev. T. R. Birks, M.A., *The "Great Fact", on which the Revised Code rests, tried by its own witnesses and proved to be a gross fallacy or, a four-fold proof, from the data of the Commissioners' Report, showing that one-half of the scholars in the inspected schools reach the first class, where most of them, by the repeated testimony of the Commissioners, receive an excellent education* (London, 1862)

²⁹ *B.P.P.*, 1862, XLIII, pp. 161-7

³⁰ "Copies of a Letter addressed by the Reverend T. R. Birks to the Lord President of the Council, on the subject of certain Statements contained in the Report of the Royal Commissioners on Education."

"Of a Letter addressed by the Reverend J. P. Norris, One of Her

The Commissioners were forced to admit the almost unanimous approval of the inspectors they had heard from their witnesses. Indeed, their report commenced with a warm tribute to the inspectors and a statement that "no other persons can know so well what is taught in the better kinds of elementary schools, how it is taught, and how much the children retain of the teaching". It was obviously difficult to reconcile the Commission's claim that only a quarter of the children in the inspected schools received a fair elementary education with the general assessment of the inspectors that the standard of teaching was "excellent, well or fair" in some 90 per cent of the schools. The Commissioners criticized the inspectors on the grounds that they did not attempt to examine every child individually, that they conducted their inspection so as to make the teaching in the schools more a matter of memory than of reasoning and that they tended to judge a school by the upper classes. In their attempt to show that the inspectors neglected the lower classes, the Commissioners were later shown to have been guilty of some misrepresentation.³⁰ The inspectors were forced, after the issue of the Report, to reply to their critics. They admitted that they did not examine each child individually but claimed that they used a method of random selection which was adequate. They claimed also that they were fully aware of the tendency of education to emphasize memory rather than reasoning and that they struggled against it. Although they examined the junior classes, they tended to agree with the teachers that the efficiency of the school should mainly be judged by those children who were allowed by their parents to remain long enough to reach the top class. Indeed by examining the top class they were examining the whole of the school for it would be impossible for a schoolmaster to

Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, to the Lord President of the Council, on the subject of certain Statements contained in his Report for the Year 1859."

Hansard: 25 March, 1862, §41, Mr. Walpole.

20 March, 1862, §1862, Earl Granville.

Earl Granville stated "Whether 55 per cent or 75 per cent of the children left school without that elementary knowledge which they ought to possess, the case for an alteration in the system was equally strong".

Birks, however, had also shown that "A slight encouragement to a longer stay, at the precise point where the New Code will operate as a direct discouragement . . . would so far modify them, as to secure to three-fourths of the scholars, either 'an excellent', or at the least a 'very fair' elementary education."

³⁰ See *B.P.P.*, 1861, XXI, Pt. 1, p. 238, and *B.P.P.*, 1862, XLIII, p. 167.

neglect the junior classes as they necessarily included his future top class.³¹

The Commissioners had earlier rejected outright the idea of compulsory attendance for "neither the government nor private persons can effectually resist, or would be morally justified in resisting, the natural demands of labour when the child has arrived, physically speaking, at the proper age for labour, and when its wages are such as to form a strong motive to its parents for withdrawing it from school".³² Thus the Commissioners could take all the criticisms made by inspectors of the inadequacies due to lack of compulsion and turn them into attacks on the schools and the teachers.

The Commissioners were fair-minded enough to recognize that the teachers had to contend with great difficulties, that school books were totally unfitted for beginners in reading, that children were removed capriciously from school to school, were often grossly ignorant when they entered the school, and finally that the task of teaching very young children the elementary branches of knowledge and seeing that each child individually acquired them was extremely difficult and irksome. The Commissioners concluded that the schools had not yet succeeded in educating to any considerable extent the bulk of the children who had passed through them but that they gave an excellent education to an important minority. To the Commissioners, the main defects of the system were, firstly, that it demanded "as a condition of aid, an amount of voluntary subscriptions which many schools placed under disadvantageous circumstances can scarcely be expected to raise". Secondly, "that teaching is deficient in the more elementary branches, and in its bearing on the younger pupils". Thirdly, "that it enlists in many places too little of local support and interest". Lastly, "that while the necessity of referring many arrangements in every school to the central office embarrasses the Committee of Council with a mass of detail, the difficulty of investigating minute and distant claims threatens to become an element at once of expense and of dispute".

³¹ See B.P.P., 1862, XLIII, pp. 171-4.

³² A "Copy of Memorial addressed by the School Inspector to Earl Granville in April last, complaining of unjust Aspersions made upon them; of the Signatures thereto; and of all Correspondence thereupon".

³³ B.P.P., 1861, XXI, Pt. I, p. 225. On p. 264 the Commissioners estimated the "proper age for labour" at ten or eleven years.

They rejected the minority view that the State should abstain from making further grants and proposed a scheme which would maintain the leading principles of the 1846 system (in a somewhat simplified form) and combine it with a supplementary and local system. In brief summary the Commissioners proposed, firstly, that a grant on the average attendance of the children should be paid by the Committee of Council to the managers of every school in which a certificated teacher was employed, and that a further grant should be paid to every school which was properly equipped with pupil-teachers, provided that the schools in both cases were certified by the inspectors to be in proper condition. Secondly, they proposed that a grant should be paid out of the county rate, in respect of every child who passed an examination in reading, writing and arithmetic, and who had attended any one school whatever for 140 days in the preceding year. This grant would be independent of any conditions whatever, except that the school was open to inspection and was reported healthy. The examination was to be conducted not by inspectors, but by examiners who were to be appointed by a county board.³³

The training college system was to be left almost intact, although the Commissioners suggested shorter hours of study, and more emphasis on infant teaching, political economy and other subjects of practical utility. Under the new system, however, certificates were to bear "no pecuniary but only an honorary value".

The Report was recognized at the time as being an attempt to reconcile the conflicting educational, political and religious biases of the Commissioners.³⁴ Because of their differing view-points,

³³ *B.P.P.*, 1861, XXI, Pt. I, pp. 328-43. The Commissioners enumerated the objects they hoped to achieve by this new form of grant aid as follows:

- 1(a) To maintain, as at present, the quality of education by encouraging schools to employ superior teachers.
- 1(b) To simplify the business of the office in its correspondence and general connection with schools in receipt of the grant.
- 1(c) To diminish the rigour and apparent injustice of some of its rules.
- 2(a) To enable many schools to obtain public aid which at present have no prospect of doing so.
- 2(b) To excite local interest, and secure as much local management as is at present desirable.
- 2(c) Through the exarguation to exercise a powerful influence over the efficiency of the schools, and thus make a minimum of attainment universal (*ibid.*, pp. 337, 341).

³⁴ The *English Journal of Education* had commented on the Commissioners at their appointment that "this is the most motley group ever herded together in a Royal Commission".

the Commissioners were unable to come to any decision on the fundamental problems facing education (e.g. compulsory school attendance and the building of schools in poorer districts). They were hamstrung, above all, by their acceptance as one of their basic premises of the impossibility of obtaining much more money from the central government in aid of education. The Report itself was strongly selective i. the evidence it used to bolster up a dogmatic and inflexible view of the nature of the educational problem. The evidence of a witness would be quoted in favour of a point (e.g. R. R. Lingen on the difficulties of the central office) while the same witness' evidence on another point would be completely disregarded (e.g. Lingen on the impossibility of payment by individual results). The almost unanimous evidence of the inspectors and the witnesses in favour of the existing system was completely discounted and their reports and evidence were combed for quotations which could be used to attack it. The Commissioners, in spite of their prejudices, had, however, understood some of the main faults of the 1846 system. The four defects they mentioned did, in fact, exist. There was a great need to bring aid to schools in poorer districts and to build new schools where they were needed. There was also a need to enlist local support and interest in aid of the schools. The teaching of the "elements of instruction" was defective and there was a need for some simplification of the grant system accompanied by a measure of decentralization. Their constructive comments were ignored in the tidal wave of educational reaction which followed their report.

CHAPTER SIX

THE REVISED CODE CONTROVERSY

"The points upon which public opinion have been misled are; first, the extent, and still more, the cause of the actual defects in popular elementary education at the present time. Secondly, the bearing of the actual system of training on the efficiency of the teachers."

Rev. Derwent Coleridge (1861).¹

The Debate Begins

"Which parts of the Report, recommendations and evidence of the Commission were taken up by the Press, public, Parliament and teachers and how did this selective bias relate to our previous analysis of the state of opinion in 1861? How did the controversy develop over time?"

Very few people could have read the report and evidence of the Newcastle Commission in its original form. Most of the literate and interested public took their view of what the Commissioners had said from the reports which appeared in the Press and periodicals. From these they gathered that the main finding of the Commissioners had been "that we were *over-teaching our masters and under-teaching our children*",² that "the Privy Council have been long manufacturing razors for the purpose of cutting blocks, and in future the instrument must be better adapted for its purpose",³ that "the whole system of popular education has been *pitched too high*"⁴ and "the teacher must not be too far removed from his scholars".

The teachers, understandably enough, were indignant at the slanders on their order and feared that if the proposals of the Commission were adopted, their salaries would be lowered and

¹ Rev. Derwent Coleridge, *The Education of the People*, 1861.

² *The Economist*, 21 September, 1861.

³ *Quarterly Review*, No. 220, 1861, p. 506.

⁴ *Edinburgh Review*, July 1861: This article deserves to be read in full, bearing in mind that the *Edinburgh Review* was a dissenter journal. It contains a vitriolic attack on the teachers as "creatures of the Government".

they would be put completely at the mercy of the managers. J. J. Graves appealed to them to unite "for a general expression of opinion, when the time arrives at which it will be expedient to express it", and the A.B.C.S. commenced gathering signatures for a petition to Parliament to "continue the money payment conditionally due on teachers' certificates". Most of the local associations held meetings at which the report was roundly condemned. The teachers especially resented the paragraphs which implied that as children of "day labourers" they had come up in the world as much as was expedient. They wrote that "the proposition . . . that a man's labour is to be valued with reference to the position of life he occupied in early years . . . is monstrous and can only be the conception of a diseased brain, or a bad heart".⁵

In Parliament, discussion of the report was necessarily limited until the government had prepared a statement of the action they proposed to take. The "voluntarists" welcomed the report as vindication of their belief that any attempt by the State to interfere in education was doomed to failure and as an attack on the efficiency of church education. The Church feared a rate-aided system as a step on the road to secularism. The figure of "one-quarter" of the children in the schools being well educated was introduced into the discussion again and again while in the background of the debate the murmur of "over-education" was never absent.

The interests of the teachers were discussed in the House of Lords on 8 July, 1861. Lord Lyttleton said that "could not believe that such a regulation if adopted would apply to the present schoolmasters, though, of course, the government would have the right to apply it in the case of future schoolmasters. He thought, however, that such an arrangement would be looked upon by the schoolmasters as taking away almost the whole value

⁵ *The School and the Teacher*, July 1861.

There were some teachers who accepted the "monstrous proposition" and wished the profession to be recruited solely from middle-class children. Dr. Brewer, in an address to the Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association, declared that "all hope of relief of the State burden . . . the real social position of the teachers . . . the general tone and enlarged success of national schools, appear to me to be put in jeopardy by the very humble class from which the majority of college students are now being drawn". He declared the profession was being swamped by "the children of charwomen, and often not even of the independent poor". There was great cheering at the end of the address (*The School and the Teacher*, August 1861).

of their connection with the government." The Duke of Newcastle, replying for the government, said:

"I believe that no injury will be done to the holders of certificates by the new arrangements, because they will obtain the same amount of money under the new system, though in a different form, as at present. I readily admit that, if that should not be the case, the interests of the schoolmasters who are already appointed ought to be considered, as it would not be fair to place them in a more disadvantageous position than when they entered the service."

Robert Lowe,⁶ speaking in the Commons before the announcement of the Revised Code was almost benign in his language towards the 1846 system. He defended the education of teachers and pointed out that their "high" education was necessary if they were to be competent to instruct pupil-teachers. He rejected the scheme of the Commissioners and sketched the government scheme in vague outline.⁷

The Revised Code

Turning to the fourth and fifth questions posed on p. 63 of the last chapter:

* It is not possible in this study to investigate the personality and prejudices of Robert Lowe (later Viscount Sherbrooke). His many detractors assume he was actuated by a desire for economy, a dislike of education for the poor, and a "caste" view of society. His few supporters assume his main motive to have been a dislike of bureaucracy and a desire to decentralize educational administration. After a period of some forty years, during which he was treated as the villain of Victorian education, there has been apparent in recent years a tendency among educational historians to defend the Revised Code and to salvage the reputation of Robert Lowe. As far as I can trace it, this tendency started with G. A. N. Lowndes (*The Silent Social Revolution*, 1937, pp. 8-11) who, however, gives very inadequate evidence in support of his views. The argument was accepted uncritically by S. J. Curtis (*History of Education in Great Britain*, 2nd Edition, 1950, pp. 225, 261-2) who praises Lowe for "making the best of a bad business" and for "saving English Education once and for all from the evils of centralization".

I am inclined to think that detractors and defenders are both equally misguided in their analysis of Robert Lowe's motives. It is true that Lowe opposed any increase of the education grants (see *Hansard*, 5 April, 1867, Robert Lowe), that he disliked and feared the lower classes, and that he opposed an inflated bureaucracy. Lowe himself was to declare in 1871 that the great advantage of payment by results was that it tended very forcibly to the secularization of education (on 4 December, 1871, at the Annual Distribution of prizes of the Halifax Mechanics Institute) (*National Schoolmaster*, 15 December, 1871). It is this motive—Lowe's intense dislike of the denominational system—which is usually missed by educational historians.

¹ "We do not intend to break in on the system of pupil-teachers as now existing. . . ." "It leaves the whole system of the Privy Council intact. . . ." "It merely substitutes one kind of payment for another, and that a much more simple and convenient one. . . ." "We give the master a much stronger motive for exertion than he has at present."

Mr. Lowe, *Hansard*, 11 July, 1861, §735-8.

What was the relation between the Revised Code, the Report and evidence of the Commissioners and the "Education controversy"? To what extent did political and personality factors enter into the formulation of the Revised Code?

How did the controversy develop after the promulgation of the Revised Code?

The "Revised Code" was published in August 1861 on the same day that Parliament was prorogued. In brief, the new code abolished all direct payments to teachers and pupil-teachers without exception. It also abolished retiring pensions, building and furniture grants, book grants, scientific apparatus grants and special grants for drawing, industrial work, infant schools, ragged schools and evening schools. All the existing classes of annual grants were merged into one, viz., a payment of so much per child *to the managers*. No grant was paid for a child who attended less than a certain minimum. All children were to be individually examined by the inspector or his assistant in reading, writing and arithmetic according to a fixed syllabus. For purposes of examination, the children were to be grouped according to age and no grant was to be given for children above the age of eleven years. One-third of each child's possible grant (earned by attendance) was to be apportioned for success in passing the examination in each of the "three R's". Deductions were to be made from the total grant earned by attendance and examination if the school did not fulfil certain conditions. It was still to be worth while for school managers to retain certificated and pupil-teachers but the managers were "left free to make their own bargains". A "lower kind of certificated teacher" could be employed in small rural schools. The certificates of teachers, so far as they were dependent upon examination, were made honorary and could be raised only by good service. The engagement of pupil-teachers was to be contracted not with the teachers but with the managers of their schools and the amount and level of instruction they were to receive was to be drastically cut. The grants to normal schools were cut and the number and value of Queen's Scholarships reduced. The training college course was to be ruthlessly cut down and the special lectureships in training colleges abolished even for the existing holders.

It was easy for opponents of the Revised Code to show that it

bore very little resemblance to the proposals of the Newcastle Commission,⁸ that it completely ignored moral, intellectual and religious education and that it would confine popular education within narrow and rigid limits. Infants, backward and neglected children, superior children and children over the age of eleven would either be excluded from the schools or else ignored by the teacher. The grant would be severely reduced, especially in rural districts, and would also be highly uncertain. The pupil-teacher system and the training colleges would both suffer in many ways.

It was also argued that if the Revised Code were accepted, the government would have "broken faith" or ignored the "vested interests" of the teachers and pupil-teachers. It was pointed out that all the existing certificated teachers (on their apprenticeship) had been furnished by the Committee of Council with a document setting forth the advantages they would derive so long as they fulfilled the conditions on their part, viz., that they would be entitled to grants in augmentation of their salaries, varying from £15 to £30 per annum, to be paid directly to the teachers.⁹ The same privileges were guaranteed to all the existing pupil-teachers when they should have obtained certificates. It was argued that the terms of the agreement were as binding as words could make them. It was submitted that the present Committee of Council ought not to rescind an engagement entered into by their predecessors, confirmed by themselves, and sanctioned by Parliament—an engagement with third persons for which they had given valuable consideration. It was these prospective advantages which had induced very many of the pupil-teachers to accept for seven years much less remuneration than they would have obtained elsewhere. While the Committee of Council had argued that the 1846 system as a whole was only experimental, they had acted on the assumption that the indentures and the

⁸ The Commissioners had declined emphatically to recommend any reductions in the grants to Normal Schools, had recommended that only part of the grant should be dependent upon individual examination, had expressed their conviction of the value of infant schools, and had recommended a higher standard of training for teachers and an expansion of the number of certificated teachers. At least one of the Commissioners—Sir John Coleridge—declared expressly that the Code was not founded on the Commissioners' Report and repudiated all responsibility regarding it.

⁹ "These grants will be made by post office orders, payable to the teachers themselves. They belong exclusively to the teachers, not to the general funds of the school. Their Lordships cannot sanction a corresponding reduction in the previous salaries of the teachers, even though more than sufficient to fulfil the conditions of the particular grant" (*B.P.P.*, 1862, XLI, p. 192).

government aid received bound the pupils to a life service and, on that very ground, had taken steps to prevent trained teachers from obtaining government employment. The teachers considered that the withdrawal of the prospect of pensions was an equally grave breach of faith. It is to be noted that teachers were not the only persons to complain. Almost every petition from managers, training colleges, or educationalists mentioned this "grievous and unexpected injury". The matter was raised time and again in Parliament, and even supporters of the Revised Code condemned the government on this point.¹⁰

There was also a breach of faith with the existing pupil-teachers. The Committee of Council had sent to each of them on apprenticeship a document, setting forth the provisions made for those who successfully completed their apprenticeship, in which they stated that they "will award an exhibition for one year to as many qualified candidates as answer to the total number of vacancies in all the normal colleges under inspection". The new code provided that exhibitions to the extent of only four-fifths of the accommodation in the colleges should be granted. This would deprive 20 or 30 per cent of the Queens' scholars of the reward promised.¹¹

The Debate Continues

While Parliament was prorogued and unable to discuss the Revised Code, in the country outside an overwhelming flood of pamphlets, memorials, petitions and resolutions condemned the proposed changes either in whole or in part. Of all the

"e.g. *The Economist*, 2 November, 1861, condemned both the justice of the step and also its expediency.

"It is unnecessary to observe that the schoolmasters are a class with whom we should observe not legal faith, but moral faith. They cannot be expected to understand every refinement which an ingenious London lawyer may impart into the arrangement between him and the State. A schoolmaster is, too, one of the most influential communicants between the English State and the labouring classes. It is of the utmost necessity to convince those classes of the good faith of the Government under which they live, and it is a difficult matter for the poor do not easily credit honesty in money matters. It is, therefore very dangerous to permit a considerable body of respectable persons just in contact with the poor to have even the semblance of a moral accusation against the Government."

"In January 1860, Earl Granville had admitted "that no reduction could be made to touch any pupil-teachers now apprenticed" (Quoted *B.P.P.*, 1862, XLI, p. 192).

"See especially *B.P.P.*, 1862, XLI: *Memorial and Letters addressed to the Lord President or Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education on*

pamphlets that were issued from the Press only a few ventured to approve the code. Up until March 1862 there had been 1000 petitions delivered to Parliament against the Revised Code and only one (with one signature) in favour.¹³

The teachers themselves played an active part (perhaps too active) in the agitation against the Revised Code. All over the country, associations met to pass resolutions against the new code. Most of the large associations drew up memorials and petitions and sent them to the Committee of Council. The Scottish teachers (who were also threatened) were even more forthright in their denunciations than the English teachers because, in all probability, they felt they had much more to lose. Even at this time of crisis it was still impossible to get unity among teachers. In London, a "Central Committee of Schoolmasters" was formed after a crowded joint meeting of the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association" and the "London Association of Teachers" on 21 September, 1861. The secretaries of many associations all over the country placed their associations in communication with the Central Committee. The committee sent a deputation to Lord Palmerston (12 November, 1861) and circulated a memorial which was signed by 2416 memorialists. It was arranged to lobby M.P.s, to prepare and circulate questionnaires to schoolmasters who had been examined by the assistant commissioners¹⁴ and to publish

the subject of the Revised Code by the Authority of any Education Society, Board, or Committee, or of any Training School, etc. (Containing the text of over 300 memorials and letters.)

The Library of the Ministry of Education contains a very full collection of pamphlets.

¹³ *Hansard*, 25 March, 1862. The petition mentioned was most likely that of Roland Halle (*B.P.*, 1862, XL1, p. 369), a private schoolmaster who thought it "disgraceful . . . that public money should be given to those schoolmasters and mistresses who were in possession of good salaries and pupil-teachers to do their work and withheld from those with small salaries" (i.e. his wife and himself). Halle had tried three times for a certificate and had been unsuccessful.

¹⁴ The questionnaire asked:

- (a) The time which the assistant commissioner spent in each school visited.
- (b) What he did. (i) Did he examine the class? (ii) What was the class doing when he was there? (iii) Did he particularly examine lower classes?
- (c) What did he say to the schoolmaster?
- (d) What did the schoolmaster think of him?
- (e) Was his manner brusque?
- (f) Did he seem to know what he was about?
- (g) Was he a man who seemed to have any previous experience as to education?

pamphlets. The Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association made a significant step towards unity when it passed a new rule:

"That in order to secure action, and a general expression of opinion from the largest number of teachers possible upon any question of professional interest, any association of teachers that acknowledged the Bible as the basis of all sound education, may be connected with this association as a 'corresponding society'."

The Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters, however, preferred to campaign on its own. Its membership jumped to over 1200 members and a petition it presented to Parliament had 4519 signatures. These partial attempts at unity came to an end after the passage of the Revised Code and the profession had to wait another eight years until the formation of a comprehensive professional association.

While this flood of criticism raged against the Revised Code, there were very few who came to its defence. The Congregationalists were triumphant for they saw in the Code the beginning of the withdrawal of the State from all interference in education. All the old enemies of popular education applauded the Code and it was "quite universally agreed that the mode of training elementary teachers . . . is entirely unsuited to its purpose. The sort of education suited to such persons is a sound, homely, practical and plain one."¹⁵ But for a reasoned defence of the Revised Code

- (h) How far did his report of the condition of the school correspond with the report of the Queen's Inspector, who had visited the school for a period of years?

(*Educational Guardian*, January 1862)

The information received from 220 schools showed that eighty-seven were not visited at all and that 162 were not examined at all by the assistant commissioners, and the Central Committee was convinced:

- (1) That the lower classes especially were almost entirely overlooked by the assistant commissioners, even in schools which they professed to have examined.
- (2) That the examination made by the assistant commissioners bore no comparison to the examination made by Her Majesty's Inspector in respect to (a) their thoroughness, (b) their reliability
- (3) No trustworthy judgment as to the real state of the instruction in inspected schools could be formed by the assistant commissioners from the personal examination which they instituted
- (4) That if the conclusions of the Royal Commissioners are worth anything, they do not derive their value from the examination of the inspected schools by their assistant commissioners.

(*Returns concerning the Assistant Commissioners of Education and Inspected Schools in the ten specimen districts: Issued by the Central Committee of Schoolmasters*, 1862.)

¹⁵ *The Economist*, 2 November, 1861.

we must rely on James Fraser's pamphlet, and the speeches of Robert Lowe and Earl Granville.¹⁶ Fraser's main reasons for supporting the Revised Code were that it was a step towards the decentralization of education¹⁷ and that it was high time the national expenditure on elementary education was retrenched for "the whole system was growing both too ambitious and too costly". He admitted that the extent of the loss to an efficient elementary school, under the head of income arising from the annual Parliamentary grant, would be about 25 per cent, but hoped the loss could be made up by raising the school fee or encouraging local charity. He sympathized with the teachers, but "begged them to remember that the fair market value of their services is all that they can expect to command; and that I feel pretty confident they will obtain". Even this supporter of the Revised Code, could not stomach the government's treatment of the training colleges and wrote:

"I think it to be lamented that in dealing with these, the framers of the code have departed so widely from the opinions and recommendations of the Royal Commissioners. . . . The most serious defect, of all in the New Code, in its bearing upon training colleges is, that it contains no motive whatever, directly operating upon the students, to prolong their period of study through a second year."

Earl Granville, making the first official reply to the critics of the Revised Code, attacked the schoolmasters for considering "it as degrading to condescend to the drudgery of teaching reading, writing and counting" and thought that "the natural view, of the interests of the masters themselves, is that their own independence and self-respect will be increased by placing

¹⁶ Rev. James Fraser, M.A., *The Revised Code of the Committee of Council on Education*, 1861.

Hansard, 13 February, 1862, §191-242, etc., Robert Lowe.

Hansard, 13 February, 1862, §170-83, etc., Earl Granville.

¹⁷ The demand for "decentralization" was composed of at least six different elements.

- (1) The desire for a decrease in the "bureaucracy".
- (2) The fear of State control of education.
- (3) The wish of managers to have more control over their "servants".
- (4) The fear of the growth of "vested interests".
- (5) The fear of the growth of a teacher army that would either (a) use its voting power to influence the policies of the government, or (b) be a weapon in the hands of the government.
- (6) The wish for a first step towards eventual state-aided locally controlled secular education.

them in more natural relations with their employers, and relieving them from their present anomalous position towards the State".¹⁸

Robert Lowe's speech made on the same day surveyed the whole of the controversy. He argued that the 1846 system was a preliminary, provisional and tentative one which had proved to be partial, complex and destructive of the proper control of the Commons. He made a great deal of the statement of the Commissioners that only a quarter of the children were successfully educated. He preferred to trust the Report of the Commissioners rather than that of the inspectors. Lowe asked the managers why they were so insistent that the examination would be ruinous for the object of inspection was not "simply to make things pleasant, to give the schools as much as can be got out of the public purse, independent of efficiency". Lowe pointed out that most of the children left school before the age of eleven and that the "true and statesmanlike view of the subject", was not "to struggle against early labour--not to interfere between a father who is oppressed by poverty and the labour of his children, but to make the education of the child during the time he remains at school as perfect as we can". Lowe warned the country of the "vested interests" in education, which, if allowed to entrench themselves, would dominate the Commons.

"The great danger is that the grant for education may become, instead of a grant for education, a grant to maintain the so-called vested interests of those engaged in education. In such a case, if the system were allowed to go on, those persons claiming vested interests would obtain so great a hold in the country that any Government, seeing that the system admitted of improvement, and being willing to make it, would be met by such a phalanx of opposition that they would be scarcely mad enough to make the attempt. . . . If Parliament does not set a limit to the evil, such a state of things will arise that the control of the educational system will pass out of the hands of the Privy Council and of the House of Commons into the hands

¹⁸ *Hansard*, 13 February, 1862, §179, Earl Granville, K.G.

Granville announced that the government proposed to defend the vested interest of the certificated masters by stating that "the condition of the granting of pecuniary assistance by the State is that there should be a certificated master duly paid, and he will be considered to be duly paid only when he receives from the managers of the school three times the amount of the present augmentation grant attached to his certificate. He will, likewise, have the first lien on the capitation grants given to the managers."

This provision turned out in practice to be completely meaningless.

of the persons working that educational system, and then no demand they choose to make on the public purse would any Ministry dare to refuse."

He then announced certain modifications in the code which answered a few of the criticisms that had been made.¹⁹ He denied that the new code would affect religious instruction. While admitting that many schools (e.g. where children were migratory) would find it difficult to earn the grants he considered that "the true principle is not to lower your standard to meet cases which are at present below it, but to do what you can to induce them to amend themselves, and if they will not amend themselves, to leave them to the unaided support of voluntary efforts".²⁰

Lowe proceeded to attack the teachers directly. He declared that the teachers were only concerned with their augmentation grants. Teachers had been raised far above their true position in society. For some time past they had been in receipt of large incomes and, considering what they were and the circumstances of their education, they had enjoyed a great amount of prosperity. Teachers were always dissatisfied and it was no wonder they were dissatisfied with the Revised Code. The teachers had no "vested interest" in the grant and they should be left to make their own bargains with the managers, the bargaining process being subject only to "the general laws of political economy". The Revised Code was not intended to fix a maximum but a minimum of education, but it should never be forgotten "that those for whom this system is designed are the children of persons who are not able to pay for the teaching". . . .

¹⁹ (a) The Code would not be extended to Scotland at present. (In spite of many scares, it never was.)

(b) Infants under the age of six would be entitled to the capitation grant without examination.

(c) For the moment the training colleges were to be reprieved. The propositions to do away with a number of Queen's scholars and lecturers were withdrawn.

(d) The staffing regulations were modified so that less pupil-teachers or assistant teachers would be required in the schools.

(e) An honorary certificate would be given to every teacher who would remain in a training college for two years.

²⁰ In other words, "If it is not cheap it shall be efficient; if it is not efficient it shall be cheap."

Lowe ignored the whole point of the educational opposition to the Revised Code, i.e. that payment by results was not payment for labour and that there was little direct relation between the efficiency of a teacher and the "results" he produced.

"We do not profess to give these children an education that will raise them above their station and business in life: that is not our object, but to give them an education that may fit them for that business. We are bound to take a clear and definite view of the position of the class that is to receive instruction: and, having obtained that view, we are bound to make up our minds as to how much instruction that class requires, and is capable of receiving, and we are then bound to have evidence that it has received such instruction."

Political Compromise

The Revised Code was raised again and again in Parliament and every aspect was attacked. As the discussion proceeded, there appeared a movement in favour of compromise although opposition was still strong among the "vested interests". One of the most significant speeches was made by the Bishop of London on 14 March, 1862. After asking that a portion of the grant should be made on attendance, he declared his own willingness (and that of a "great many of the clergy") to accept a compromise.

"I believe that a great change of feeling has taken place in reference to this Revised Code during the last few weeks. I cannot say that all the feelings of irritation with which it was at first received—feelings not, perhaps, very unnatural under the circumstances—have been altogether allayed, but there has certainly been a change. I cannot speak for the clergy generally, but I can speak for a great many of them, and I find that those of the clergy with whom I have opportunity of consulting are, on the whole, not unfavourable to the Code. At the same time, they are apprehensive upon particular points. . . .

. . . "It would be wrong to judge of the feelings of the clergy generally by the state of things several months back. It is certain that formerly in different parts of the country perpetual dissatisfaction was expressed with the old code, and perpetual complaints were made that the masters were above their work, and that the education given was not the most useful possible. I have repeatedly found it said that reading, writing and arithmetic ought to be better taught, even though the more ornamental parts of education were left alone; and complaints were also made that the pupil-teachers and the masters were so independent of the managers, and considered themselves so much the officers of the Government in Downing Street that it was difficult to get on with them. I do not say that those complaints were always well-founded, but such a feeling existed, and judging from this fact, a change in the system seemed called for."²¹

²¹ *Hansard*, 14 March, 1862, §1495-6

It is difficult to say what proportion of the clergy supported the Bishop of London. Certainly many of the school managers were only too willing "to see the schoolmaster placed in a condition of greater dependence"²² but one must not ignore the great amount of "disinterested" opposition that came from the religious bodies and persisted even after the Revised Code had been accepted by Parliament.

The final stages of the debate took place on a series of eleven resolutions moved by Mr. Walpole in which he attacked grouping by age, the system of giving the whole of the grant on examination, the individual examination of children under seven, the regulations regarding pupil-teachers, etc.²³ In the debates on 26 and 27 March, the usual arguments were brought forward, for and against the Revised Code. Finally, on 28 March Robert Lowe announced the ultimate government concessions. A portion of the grant was to be given on the report of the inspector, and the plan of grouping by age was abandoned. Instead children could be examined in any one of six standards, the only limitation being that a child should not be presented twice in the same or lower standard. Furthermore, during the transition state, the pupil-teachers who were already engaged would not be prejudiced in their pecuniary interests.²⁴ The government concessions were greeted with great satisfaction from both sides of the House and the debate was adjourned till 5 May, 1862. When the House went into Committee on 5 May, Mr. Walpole announced that he was prepared to accept the Code as an experiment deserving of trial for "When the Government have met the objections that were fairly raised in a frank and temperate spirit, it would be . . . churlish and ungenerous to refuse to accept their propositions." He sympathized with the certificated masters but thought that "since certificated masters have got a primary lien on the grant coming from the State, they are not the persons who will be the sufferers". Other speakers in the debate still thought an act of great injustice had been done to the certificated teachers, but Lowe considered that in getting rid of the vested interests growing up under the 1846 system the Revised Code was performing

²² Lowe himself had stated that "another advantage of the new system is, that it gives the managers almost unfettered freedom in regulating their schools as they please . . . some of these gentlemen do not seem grateful for the privilege".

²³ *Hansard*, 25 March, 1862, §21. ²⁴ *Hansard*, 28 March, 1862, §241-2.

its greatest function. Mr. Walpole's motion was by leave withdrawn.

The final stages of the debate on the Revised Code saw an attack on the certificate itself. Mr. Walter moved:

"That to require the employment of Certificated Masters by managers of Schools, as an indispensable condition of their participation in the Parliamentary Grant, is inexpedient, and inconsistent with the principle of payment for results which forms the basis of the Revised Code."²⁵

Walter stated that he came forward "to advocate the freedom of trade between managers of schools and schoolmasters, in opposition to government protection". He was supported not only by opponents of education but also by those who saw in the motion a chance to extend government aid to the poorer districts. Walter himself spent a great deal of his speech in attacking the abilities of certificated teachers and pupil-teachers.

Lowe opposed the resolution because a certificated master was an additional security that the public money was properly expended. He also pointed out the vastly increased expenditure which would be involved. He was forced to argue the claims of the certificated teachers and warned the House that if Walter's resolution were passed, it would lead to the destruction of the training colleges. The resolution was defeated by 163 votes to 154 and thus the certificate was preserved as the only protection of the teacher under the new educational system.

This final agreement was satisfactory to neither party. It was essentially the result of political compromise, for there was a regular understanding between Lord Derby and Lord Palmerston not to bring down the government, which ended only in 1865. The Congregationalists were opposed to the compromise and a speaker at the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Yorkshire Congregational Board of Education lamented that "Nine thousand tax-eating schoolmasters, supported by a few radical communists, had frightened the Government from their propriety, and compelled them, with a pusillanimity scarcely ever equalled, to relinquish their honest convictions."²⁶

The re-Revised Code did, however, satisfy the demands for

²⁵ *Hansard*, 5 May, 1862, §1243-71.

²⁶ *Educational Guardian*, May 1862.

retrenchment in public expenditure and an end to the "over-education" of the pupils and teachers. If it left the religious societies and the majority of school managers dissatisfied, it pleased many who disliked the independence and self-assertiveness of the "government man". It left education to the forces of supply and demand. It was an attempt to confine the elementary school and the elementary school teacher within narrow limits. The refusal of the elementary teachers to accept these limits was one of the greatest services they have rendered to English education and English society.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE EFFECT OF THE REVISED CODE AND THE 1870 CONTRADICTORY

"Farewell then, those pictures of the future with which we have beguiled our fancy! Farewell mental activity, cheerful looks, bright attention, and other results of moral discipline in our schools! farewell a meeting of English teachers like this, men of thoughtfulness and high purpose, and holy faith! Other men must take your places! Mechanical pedagogues, who, to force the children to the standard of the three R's, must call back the rod and the ferrule, those instruments of torture which enlightened teachers had discarded! Other men, not you, will be wanted now. Men to teach words not things, sounds not realities!"

Rev C H Bromby.¹

We are now in a position to consider the last of our questions posed on page 63 of Chapter V, i.e.: What were the short and long-term effects of the Revised Code? From the first announcement of the Revised Code until 1870, the Reports of the more experienced inspectors were almost uniformly gloomy. They talked of the restriction of education to the three R's and the casting off of "those other subjects of instruction which have been most useful to the children, and highly valued by the parents" Matthew Arnold wrote of the pupil-teachers that

"above all, the pupil-teacher has continually before him, he continually sees and hears, a master who ten years ago was rewarded for teaching him, was proud of his own profession, was hopeful, and tried to communicate this pride and hope to his apprentice. . . . To the trainer thus rewarded, thus animated, thus encouraged to value his profession, thus proclaimed a fellow-worker with the national Government, has succeeded a trainer no longer paid or rewarded, a trainer told that he has greatly over-rated his importance and that of his function, that it is most inexpedient to make a public servant of him, and that the Government is determined henceforth to know no one in connection with his school but the managers. Is it wonderful that such a trainer should be slack in

¹ In an address on the "Principles and prospects of popular education" before the Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association, 18 January, 1862. *Papers for the Schoolmaster*, February 1862

seeking pupil-teachers whom he has to instruct without reward; that he should communicate to what pupil-teachers he has his own sense of the change in the schoolmaster's position, his own slackness, his own discouragement: and that under these influences the pupil-teacher's heart should no longer be in his work, that his mind should be always ready to turn to the hope of bettering himself in some more thriving line, and his acquirements meanwhile weak and scanty?"²

The immediate effect of the Revised Code on the teaching profession can be considered under three headings—Recruitment, Training, and the direct effect on the teachers and their associations.

Recruitment

There was an immediate and rapid fall in the number of pupil-teachers apprenticed.³ Inspectors complained constantly of the difficulty of getting suitable candidates to come forward for apprenticeship. The "lachrymose and peevish tones of the teacher", the lowered prospects⁴ of the profession and the demand from other occupations,⁵ were all put forward as reasons. Not only were there less pupil-teachers, but those who remained took less interest in their work, their examinations were less satisfactory, and many of them either entered other callings on the termination

¹ *B.P.P.*, 1867-8, XXV, Minutes, 1867-8, pp. 291-2, M. Arnold

² The number admitted to apprenticeship fell from 3092 (1861) to 2115 (1863) and 1895 (1864). It then started rising again and in 1867 had reached 3446 (*B.P.P.*, 1870, XXII, Minutes, 1869-70, p. lxxxii).

The fall was proportionately greater for male pupil-teachers than for female. The total number of male pupil-teachers fell by 18.7 per cent from 1863-4, while the number of female pupil-teachers in the same period fell by only 9.8 per cent (*B.P.P.*, 1866, XXVII, Minutes, 1866, pp. ix-xx).

³ The remuneration of the pupil-teacher was £15 under the 1846 system and by 1868 had fallen to £13 9s. 9d. for a male and £12 15s. 2d. for a female (average) (*B.P.P.*, 1867-8, XXV, Minutes of the Committee of Council, 1867-8, p. viii).

⁴ "The scarcity of boy pupil-teachers increases, the large demand for clerks, shop-boys, messengers, and for all kinds of domestic service, and the good wages which are offered, all concur to tempt away the most promising lads from elementary schools. I find that the average age at which boys leave school in my district is diminishing now the schoolmaster finds it impossible to compete with this demand for intelligent lads; he cannot give sufficiently high pay. The schoolmaster also does not care to have pupil-teachers, because he gets no pay for teaching them. It is manifestly his interest to get a certificated assistant if he can persuade the managers to engage one, because he is released from a considerable addition to his day's work, and then he perceives that the market is more in his favour, if the teachers are fewer in number than the demand for them, and so he has not only no inducement to bring forward boys as pupil-teachers, but positive inducement to keep them out" (*B.P.P.*, 1866, XXVII, Minutes, pp. 398-9, Cowie).

of their apprenticeship or else commenced teaching in rural schools without a certificate.⁶

Training

The training colleges were among the main sufferers from the grave shortage of pupil-teachers. There were general complaints that the applicants for entrance to the training colleges were of inferior mental ability and very inadequately prepared. Under the re-Revised Code of 1862 the colleges had suffered only minor blows and had been spared the full rigours of "free trade". The curriculum was reconstructed. In the first year syllabus, ecclesiastical history was wholly omitted and the mathematics syllabus was reduced. In the second year physical science, mechanics, higher mathematics, English literature and Latin were excluded.

The real blow at the training colleges came in the Minutes of 21 March, 1863. The two main features of the new Minute were, that it withheld from the normal college all payments in regard of any student whom the college could not prove to have been absorbed into the market, and it limited the public grant to a maximum of 75 per cent of the whole expenditure.⁷ The result of this policy (although the 1863 Minutes were not to come into full effect till 1868) was a reduction in the government grant to training colleges from £113,242 in 1863 to £70,752 in 1867. The altered position of the colleges made it necessary for some of them to demand payment from their students and this led to a further reduction in the number of candidates for admission. Although the standard of admission to the training colleges was lowered in 1865 and 1866, there were still many vacant places, and two of the colleges (Chichester and Highbury) were forced to close.

⁶ Lowe had created a fourth class certificate, especially suitable for "younger and humbler classes of candidates". Any acting teacher over twenty-two years of age, having obtained two favourable reports from the inspector, could be presented by his managers for an examination confined to elementary subjects, and might obtain a certificate.

⁷ *BPP*, 1863, XLVI, pp. 551-3. To accomplish the former object, it cancelled the whole system of Queen's Scholarships, leaving the colleges to make their own terms with candidates for admission. No grant was to be made to a college for a student who was trained for less than two years, nor in respect of such a student until he had served for two years to the satisfaction of an inspector in an elementary school. The colleges were warned to guard against possible defaulting by a written agreement with their students. Although the system was thus radically changed the successful entrants to training colleges were still referred to as "Queen's Scholars", although the term was not used in the Revised Code itself. It re-appeared in the "New" Code of 1871.

The Teachers and their Associations

We have already noticed that the Revised Code was looked upon by the teachers as an act of betrayal. During the controversy of 1861-2 the teachers had been warned that the code "would reduce the teachers' salaries; would load them with ill-aided work; and worsen, in all respects, that position in which it has hitherto been the object of the government to place them";⁸ In practice, the new code seems to have reduced the teachers' salaries only slightly⁹ (although in a period of rising prices). In many schools, however, the managers threw the whole pecuniary risk upon the teachers, and a teacher's market value was generally considered to be his ability in getting a large percentage of passes.¹⁰

The sorry story of sick children being carried to school in order to be examined, and the devices which ingenious teachers invented in order to win a favourable report have been described many times. The teachers' work was reduced from being "stimulating, soul-forming and life-awakening, to elementary, mechanical and lifeless". Many of the best teachers left the profession for trade, or commenced private schools. Some took posts in the Colonies. Of those who remained, it was said, that "disappointed and discouraged, they regard themselves as but the defeated remnant of an army whose only hope of safety lies in submission and dispersion".¹¹

Most important, the teacher felt that he had lost status. From being a servant of the State he had become a servant of the manager. He was no longer a party to the pupil-teacher's indentures. He was at the mercy of the managers, for under the Revised Code the class of his certificate might be raised at five-year intervals and there would be no revision if more than one move had been made during the five years. Finally the inspector, who, previously, had been looked on as a friend, now became in his eyes an inquisitor whose annual visits were occasions of terror and whose inconsistency, caprice or irregularity could break his career.¹²

⁸ J. Kay-Shuttleworth, *Letter to Earl Granville*, B P P., 1862, XLI, p. 425.

⁹ The average salary of a certificated master fell from £95 in 1861 to £87 in 1866 and then rose until in 1869 it stood at £93.

¹⁰ B P P., 1866, XXVII, Minutes, 1865-6, p. xvi.

In 1864 Mitchell reported that the first question nineteen out of twenty managers asked was, "How much shall we get?"

¹¹ *English Journal of Education*, 1863.

¹² See T. J. Macnamara, *Schoolmaster Sketches*, 1896, for accounts of the fictitious inspectors "Faddy H.M.I." and "Sneakson H.M.I."

Also J. Rusdaman, *Schools and Scholars*, 1887.

The effect of the Revised Code on the teachers is well illustrated by their attitude towards their associations. The first reaction to defeat by the members of the A B C S. was an attack on the leadership of the A B C S. as "cliquish and dictatorial". There were a series of attempts to reorganize the union and to make it more efficient, but these had little effect. By 1865 the British Teachers' Association (fostered by the Officers of the British and Foreign School Society) was one of the few remaining associations of teachers. The United Association of Schoolmasters, the Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association, the Elementary Teachers' Association and others had their vitality (and their funds) absorbed in the Revised Code Controversy and were in abeyance. The A B C S. for the most part confined its activities to the annual conference.¹³ The *English Journal of Education* expressed the substance of a number of communications it had received in a striking article on "Our Associations".

"Is it worth while to keep up our Associations at all? What is there left for them to do? And what benefit shall we obtain in return for the labour necessary to maintain them? Has not their futility been established? Have we not had conclusive evidence that their influence is nought? When can we hope to be more unanimous than in our condemnation of the Revised Code? When do you expect to see us acting more energetically than we did in that movement? And yet did we not utterly fail in producing any good effect? Were not all our efforts to prevent the injustice proposed to be done to us utterly vain? Nay, further, did not our action give Mr. Lowe opportunities for ridicule and misrepresentation, by availing himself of which he did more damage to our cause than all we could do for ourselves was able to repair? And are we not still subjected to unjust charges which we cannot repel? And are not our pretensions laughed at, and even our work suspected, because we continue to meet and talk after we have been proved incapable of producing any influence on educational affairs by all our conferences and discussions and petitions and remonstrances? And what tangible benefit can we point to, after all, as resulting from the Associations, which have cost us so much pain, and brought us undeserved disrepute? Granting that all these counts are unjust and suspicions groundless, is it not obvious enough that they do exist, that they are injurious to us individually and collectively? And shall we not show our wisdom by manfully submitting to the defeat we have sustained, and by devoting henceforth all our cares and energies, so long as we continue in what

¹³ It did, however, carry out an inquiry into the financial effects of the Revised Code (see *National Society Monthly Paper*, October 1863).

perhaps we ought no longer to call our profession, to making as many as possible of our scholars fit to stand the test of individual examination by which we now have to stand or fall?"¹⁴

It was in vain that the leaders of the associations declared that but for them the Revised Code would have been even more despotic, that "he cannot expect a victory who breaks up his army at the first defeat", and that there never was a time when associations were more needed, or calculated to be of more service. Most of the unions, as we have seen, became defunct and others sank into inaction. This inactivity was reflected¹⁵ in the teachers' periodicals. The only English periodical to survive was the moderate *Papers for the Schoolmaster*, while the *Educational Guardian* merged with the *English Journal of Education*, which in turn merged with the *Scottish Museum* in 1864.

Throughout the period, the attack on the certificated teachers' "monopoly" continued. The main leader in the Commons was J. Walter (Member for Berkshire and manager of *The Times*). While the motive behind the attack was the desire to extend government aid to the smaller rural parishes, in many instances the argument used was along the lines of an attack on the certificated teachers. Lowe resisted these arguments as well as he could but his position was logically untenable as "either he must give up the argument on which he based his last year's legislation, or he must submit to a large increase of the expenditure, to diminish which he robbed the teacher of his hard-earned gratuity and his well-deserved reputation".¹⁵ The certificated teachers were not unanimous in their opposition to "Mr. Walter's motion" for many of them considered that their natural superiority would always secure them employment wherever it was possible to employ them. Moreover, the proposed change would bring more schools under inspection and several of these schools would sooner or later take on certificated teachers. The fact that the National Society itself supported Walter's motion also had its effect.¹⁶ The Annual Conference of the A.B.C.S. in December

¹⁴ *English Journal of Education*, 1863.

¹⁵ *Educational Guardian*, April 1863.

¹⁶ As the pressure for a rate-aided scheme of Education grew stronger, the defenders of the existing system were inclined to put forward a counter-proposal that grants should be given to all schools which produced "results" whether or not they had a certificated teacher.

1864 passed a resolution in favour of Walter's motion. This action led to the withdrawal of the Liverpool, Newcastle and North Staffordshire districts and the resignation of many individual members. At the Annual Conference in December 1866 a resolution was adopted unanimously:

"That the A.B.C.S. has never been favourable to any schemes for extending the government grant to schools taught by non-certificated teachers (due notice not having been given of the resolution passed at Northampton in 1864), and that it still considers any such schemes as alike injurious to elementary education and the scholastic profession."¹⁷

While the teachers' associations were generally inactive between 1862 and 1867, they played an important part in the first stages of the movement for professional self-government.¹⁸ The Scholastic Registration movement had been suggested at intervals during the first fourteen years of existence of the College of Preceptors. In 1860 Mr Barrow Rule suggested that the College should initiate a campaign¹⁹ which was actually launched in 1861. The aim of the movement was to establish a council analogous to the General Medical Council established by Act of Parliament in 1858. This "Scholastic Council" would register qualified schoolmasters and represent the interests of education and of educators. While the movement for scholastic registration was originally a movement of the independent middle-class educators, it soon won the support of the certificated teachers. As well as its intrinsic merits, the teachers' leaders knew that the associations "wanted some such definite object to arrest the disorganization, sure otherwise to result from the reaction arising from the late code agitation and that this particular movement would also tend to unite the elementary teacher with those of a higher grade, who also felt strongly on the point, and so help to bring about union between the different grades of their profession".²⁰

In 1863 the College of Preceptors succeeded in forming a separate "Scholastic Registration Association" on which the

¹⁷ *Museum*, February 1867.

¹⁸ For the general movement see G. Baron, "The Teachers' Registration Movement", *British Journal of Educational Studies*, May 1954.

¹⁹ *B.P.P.*, 1890-1, §301 ff.

²⁰ Mr. Dec at the Annual Conference of the A.B.C.S., December 1862. *English Journal of Education*, 1863.

elementary teachers were well represented.²¹ There was, however, a fundamental difference between the motives of the middle-class teachers and the motives of the elementary school teachers in supporting scholastic registration. The middle-class teachers had no uniformly recognized certificate of efficiency and wished to create their own professional qualification with government sanction. The elementary teachers already had their government certificates, although during the 1860's they felt these certificates to be in danger from "Mr. Walter's motion". The reasons the elementary teachers gave for supporting scholastic registration were (in rough order of importance) that it would raise their social position; that it would drive the unqualified teacher from the profession; that the "Scholastic Council" would represent the profession as a whole and act as an advisory council to the government on educational policy; that scholastic registration would promote the science of education and the training of teachers and thus induce men of a higher class to enter the profession. Lastly it would defend the child against untrustworthy teachers²²

Revival

In 1867²³ it is possible to see a revival of the spirit of the teachers manifested in the increased activities of their associations.²⁴ The first shock of the Revised Code was wearing off, and

²¹ Among the associations in union with the SRA were the ABCS, the British Teachers' Association, the East Lancashire Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters, the Essex and Suffolk Schoolmasters' Association, the Manchester Board of Schoolmasters, the Norwich and East Norfolk Association of Teachers, the Surrey Association of Church of England Schoolmasters and the Wigan Association of Church Schoolmasters (*B.P.P.*, 1890-1, XVII, §327). The powerful Northern Association of Church Schoolmasters passed resolutions in favour of Scholastic Registration (*Papers for the Schoolmaster*, May 1863) and on the General Committee for the promotion of Scholastic Registration the ABCS was represented by J. J. Graves, H. Cummings and W. Macintosh (*Museum*, November 1864). When in 1865 Mr. Barrow Rule presented a memorial to the Schools Inquiry Commission in favour of the principle of registration it was signed by 836 teachers, of whom 183 were masters of public schools, 271 of private schools, 262 of public elementary schools and 120 were masters in training colleges (*B.P.P.*, 1890-1, XVII, §380). The important part the elementary teachers played in the Scholastic Registration movement has tended to be ignored by previous writers.

²² The Scholastic Registration Association ceased to exist in 1873-4, but the agitation was continued by the College of Preceptors.

²³ Lowe had resigned in 1864.

²⁴ The year 1867 also showed an increase in the number of pupil-teachers and in the number of ex-pupil-teachers entering training colleges (*B.P.P.*, 1870, XXI, Minutes, 1870, p. lxxxii).

there was an increasing interest in Parliament and outside in educational advance. The A.B.C.S., at its conference in December 1866, set up a committee "to devise plans to make the association more worthy of the support of teachers" and a circular was sent to all church teachers appealing to them to unite and form one union. J. J. Graves had been re-elected to the General Secretaryship of the A.B.C.S. in 1866²⁵ and his efforts to build up the union met with some success. The A.B.C.S. was attacked for attempting to form another band of sectarian teachers when what was wanted was a general union of all teachers, but Graves pointed to the failure of the U.A.S. and the continued survival of the A.B.C.S. to prove the impossibility of a non-denominational association.²⁶ The re-modelled association²⁷

"proposed to co-operate in cases of sick and distressed members and give a candid consideration to the proposal for forming a Teachers' Mutual Benefit Club in connection with this object . . . to assist members to procure situations, etc."

At the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the A.B.C.S. in January 1868, over 600 teachers were represented and the papers read at the conference show a new and more hopeful spirit. In 1868, the A.B.C.S. sent a memorial to the Lord President on the working of the Revised Code, and joined in a deputation with representatives of various associations and educational institutes on the Revised Code. After an interval of six years it appears that the association had returned to its original form and function. If we examine the circumstances around the joint deputation more closely, however, we notice a growing fundamental unity between various sections of the profession. On 15 February, 1868, Edwin Chadwick delivered an address on "National Elementary Education" to a conference of heads of training colleges, heads of district schools,

²⁵ He had resigned in December 1863 to be succeeded by E. W. Hemming.

²⁶ *Museum*, July 1867. "Finding that there are above a hundred local associations of teachers, belonging to Church of England schools, it is, I maintain, a great work to get them all, if possible, to unite. . . . I am no bigot in religious matters, but we find that religious opinions do tend to exclusiveness, and till some tangible proof is given . . . that they have ceased thus to operate in education and among teachers, I believe all practical men will agree that they cannot ignore such an everyday fact, and must do the best they can under the circumstances."

²⁷ The name of the association was changed to the "General Association of Church Schoolmasters" (it is also referred to in some periodicals as the "General Association of Church Teachers"). The initials A.B.C.S. will be used throughout this chapter.

and other school teachers and educationists.²⁸ Arising out of the conference a further meeting of school teachers, presided over by Chadwick, was held on 4 April, 1868, and a series of resolutions was passed.²⁹ At the end of the meeting a committee was formed to embody the resolutions into a memorial. Mr. William Lawson (later first secretary of the N.U.E.T.) was appointed secretary *pro tem*. The memorial was presented by a deputation consisting of Chadwick, principals of various training colleges, representatives of the College of Preceptors, the Scholastic Registration Association, the A.B.C.S. and various individual schoolmasters. As a result of these meetings, the "London Association of Church Teachers" was founded on 26 May, 1868.³⁰ From its foundation the association put as its main aim the exertion of political pressure. This political pressure was aimed both at raising the status of the teacher and at aiding the Church in the conflict that was impending over the extension of elementary education. William Lawson was the first general secretary³¹ and among its early leaders were a handful of the old leaders of the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association" and many teachers who were to become prominent in the N.U.E.T.³²

²⁸ See *The Academia*, 19 February, 1868, and Edwin Chadwick, *National Elementary Education*, 1868.

²⁹ The resolutions (1) Condemned the Revised Code and its operation, (2) Stated that the recognition and maintenance of a properly trained and duly qualified body of teachers was essential to any system of education; (3) Stated that provision must be made in any new Bill for the due supply of pupil-teachers, (4) Stated that no system of elementary education supported by local rates would be satisfactory, unless it was checked by higher controlling influences, and directed by the central executive power; (5) Stated that it was not desirable that the terms on which grants were made to schools should be fixed by any Act of Parliament, (6) Approved the employment of elementary teachers in middle-class schools as opening a chance of promotion to certificated schoolmasters.

³⁰ Frequently referred to as the "London Association of Church Schoolmasters". This association should not be confused with the "Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association" which appears to have become defunct some time after the promulgation of the Revised Code.

³¹ William Lawson was later to become the first Secretary of the N.U.E.T. He had been trained at Durham and had taught at St. Oswalds Schools, Durham (1853-7), and lectured at Durham Training College (1857-65) before joining the staff of St. Marks College, London (1865-94). He had been an active member of the Northern Association of Certificated Church Schoolmasters and as soon as he came to London he worked for the union of church teachers. He played a leading part in the teachers' conferences of 1870 and in the foundation of the N.U.E.T. He was forced to resign from the Secretaryship of the N.U.E.T. after three years of office due to the hostility of the governing body of St. Marks College and his own concern at the increasing militancy of the Union.

³² For example, T. E. Heller (Second Secretary of the N.U.E.T.), T. N. Day (N.U.E.T. President, 1878), T. Smith (N.U.E.T. President, 1873).

Teachers all over the country and of all denominations were becoming increasingly concerned with educational politics. In the 1868 election, teachers canvassed candidates on scholastic registration, payment by results, pensions and security of tenure. There was a growing convergence between Church and non-conformist teachers on educational and professional matters

The Teachers and the Act of 1870

The educational ferment which was to produce the Act of 1870 can be regarded, in one sense, as a logical consequence of the Reform Bill of 1867. In Robert Lowe's vehement and revealing speech on the occasion of the third reading of the Reform Bill, he had pointed out the bearing of that measure on national education.

"I was opposed to centralization, I am ready to accept centralization; I was opposed to an education rate, I am ready now to accept it. . . . The question is no longer a religious question, it has become a political one. . . . You have placed the government in the hands of the masses, and you must therefore give them education."³³

Growing in importance throughout 1868, by the end of 1869, the "education question" had become the leading issue of the day. Two great interest groups" were at work to influence educational legislation. The first to enter the field was the "National Education League" with George Dixon, M.P., as President and Birmingham as headquarters. The "National Education Union" was founded almost immediately after the league with the specific intention of opposing it. Its headquarters were in Manchester and it had a lengthy list of influential vice-presidents. The league and union were agreed in end and object, i.e. "the establishment of a system which shall secure the education of every child in the country." The question was "not whether the work shall be done or be left undone, but simply, by what means the work which must be done, can best be done". The platform of the league was free, unsectarian and compulsory education supported by "local rates, supplemented by Government grants". The management of the schools would be under the control of local boards elected by the ratepayers. The union for its part wished to "amend", "extend" or "supplement" the denominational system. It admitted that in poor and destitute districts an

³³ *Hansard*, 15 July, 1867, §1549.

educational rate might be necessary and it was also in favour of compulsion but would apply it indirectly. The league aimed at superseding the "denominational" system pronouncing it to a great extent a failure. The union retorted that the "denominational" system had been a success, and that the onward march of education had been more retarded by penuriousness on the part of the government than by any lack of vitality and elasticity in the system.

The Government Education Bill was issued on 19 February, 1870. Under it the whole country was to be divided into school districts and on or before 1 January, 1871, the local authorities in each district were to be required to make a return to the Education Department containing full particulars with respect to the elementary schools and the number of children requiring elementary education in their locality. Where the schools were sufficient in number, and efficient in character, they were to be allowed to remain on the same footing as in the past; where there was a deficiency of school accommodation, notice was to be given that the deficiency had to be supplied within twelve months. If it was not supplied within the given time, a School Board, elected by the town council or parish vestry,⁴⁴ was to be appointed and power was to be given to the Board to levy rates and provide schools. The School Board was to have the power to decide whether the education to be given should be denominational, unsectarian or secular.⁴⁵ The School Board was also to have the power to apply direct compulsion to such parents as did not send their children to some school. The action of the local board was to be strictly limited to the schools which they founded, though they might give assistance to existing schools if they were willing to receive it. In no case was the educational rate to exceed 3d. in the pound. School fees were to be retained, even in rate-supported schools; but power was to be given to the local boards to remit the whole or any part of the fees in the case of any child "when they are of opinion that the parent of such child is unable, from poverty, to pay". Inspection was no longer to be

⁴⁴ In the Act as finally passed the School Board was to be directly elected by ballot instead of being indirectly appointed by the municipalities.

⁴⁵ Under the Act as finally passed the famous "Cowper-Temple" clause stated that "No religious catechism or religious formula which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school."

⁴⁶ In the Act as finally passed voluntary schools were to be helped not out of rate aid but out of increased government grants.

denominational and a conscience clause was imposed upon all schools in receipt of government grants. The details of the conflict between the league and the union and the debates around the Forster Education Act lie outside the field of our inquiry. It is sufficient to note that the Act was looked upon as a victory for the union.

While there was a great diversity of opinion among the teachers, as a body their influence was exerted in favour of religious education. The London Association of Church Teachers, in conjunction with Wesleyan and British Associations, held a public meeting at King's College on 12 March, 1870, and agreed upon a common policy. On 9 April, 1870, an extremely important conference took place between thirteen Liberal Members of Parliament, who had taken a prominent part in the education discussion, and a large body of metropolitan school teachers belonging to the Church, British and Wesleyan School Associations. The meeting was convened by Mr. Whitwell, M.P., "for the purpose of ascertaining the opinions of men of practical experience in the work of education on points of the deepest importance in regard to the impending committee on the Government Education Bill".

About 100 teachers and training college lecturers were present and they were questioned by the Members of Parliament on:

(1) How far does the present system of Bible teaching in the metropolitan schools prevent parents sending their children to school?

(2) Should a time-table for religious instruction be adopted in school? and, if so, in what way would it best work in harmony with the due management of the school?

(3) Is it practicable to inculcate the moral precepts contained in the Bible used as a school book without making any reference to sectarian things, so that the school should remain utterly unsectarian?

The teachers were unanimous that the present system of Bible teaching had not prevented parents from sending children to school and that the religious difficulty was only a "platform difficulty". They would not be satisfied with merely reading the Bible without explanation and thought that secular teaching would

degrade the teachers in the eyes of the public. The teachers also agreed unanimously:

"That, while they did not see their way to confining religious teaching to the beginning or the end of school hours, they agreed that it was practicable to work a conscience clause in such a way that the period for such religious instruction should be so known and regulated that any child might be put to other lessons while that was going on, if their parents desired."

This conference and others which followed throughout the country, were bitterly attacked by supporters of the league as "mere transparent 'get-ups' to prove three or four foregone conclusions". The League issued a "Special Paper No. 3" in their Monthly Paper for May 1870 in which they charged the teachers with "levity", "indifference to the doctrines they are teaching", allowing their "egotistical pretensions to stand in the way of educational reform", "living by ecclesiastical patronage", "toadying to their 'ecclesiastical superiors'", "adopting an obsequious course", "conciliating the patrons on whom they depend for subsistence", etc., etc. The paper stated that "only a select number of schoolmasters have spoken at the recent meetings". While the full truth must always be open to doubt, the evidence points to the conferences as having been representative of the majority of the teachers. There was no need to "select" teachers to approve of religious education. The whole nature of their training, and their work led them to accept the 1870 compromise.

These meetings gave the final impetus to the movement for a National Union of Elementary Teachers. Teachers of all denominations had met and agreed on religious questions and there was now nothing to prevent them uniting.⁷ The year 1870 gave the teacher a new employer, the School Board. The controversy over the 1870 Act had removed any lingering doubts among the teachers as to the feasibility of union and the "National Union of

⁷ "For the first time in the annals of legislation, the opinions of practical teachers have been allowed to influence the settlement of educational questions, and have been sought after by our legislators. The Conferences at Westminster Palace Hotel, if they did nothing more, proved that our members of parliament held a high estimate of the value of the opinions of practical men, and that there was nothing to prevent schoolmasters taking an important part in the educational enactments of the day . . ." *Papers for the Schoolmaster*, September 1870.

Elementary Teachers" followed soon after the 1870 Act. In the next three chapters we turn to the story of the teachers under the School Boards, the early history of the N.U.E.T., and the development of educational policy up to the Education Act of 1902.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE N.U.E.T.—I

"We inaugurate in founding this 'National Union of Elementary Teachers', no aggressive association. We desire to assail nobody. We do desire to think and act as reasonable and educated men, to advocate improvements in our educational schemes and machinery, to look after the welfare of the nation as far as elementary education affects it, and at the same time try to advance our own interests, convinced that by the elevation of the teacher, we elevate the value of education, and accelerate the progress of civilization."

J. J. Graves¹

Foundation of the Union

We have already noted the revival of the teachers' associations from 1867 onwards. While the new or re-invigorated associations were denominational in character, there was in general more willingness to unite on specific issues than there had been before the revised code. In some provincial districts non-denominational associations were formed.² The movement towards unity was greatly aided by the foundation of the *Educational Reporter* in April 1869. It soon achieved a large circulation and from its first issue campaigned for an inclusive national union.

At the quarterly meeting of the committee of the "London Association of Church Schoolmasters" on 23 June, 1869, it was resolved that: "In the opinion of this meeting it is desirable to form a union of certificated teachers by means of a central council, to which any association of certificated teachers may send a representative". The association commenced negotiations with other associations throughout the country but sectarian animosities and the "vested interests" of the existing groups made the movement towards unity a slow and halting one.³ It was not until

¹ In the first presidential address to the N.U.E.T. (*Educational Reporter*, December 1870).

² For example the "Birmingham and Midland Society of Schoolmasters" and the "Manchester District Teachers' Association".

³ *Educational Reporter*, January-February 1870.

By February 1870 so little progress had been made that the "Leicestershire Scholastic Association" passed a resolution "That the Secretary be requested to communicate with the secretaries of the London Association of Church Teachers, the Associated Body of Church Teachers and the British School

April 1870 that two definite schemes were put forward for a national association of teachers. The first was proposed by the A.B.C.S. at its conference at Nottingham on 19 April. It decided to circulate all associations as to their willingness to co-operate in the formation of a "general professional union of elementary teachers". The second scheme was put forward by a committee of metropolitan teachers drawn from the Church, British and Wesleyan Associations. The two schemes agreed as to name proposed, constitution of the executive committee and basis for membership, but differed slightly on details of representation and finance. They were put forward as bases for discussion and were considered by associations throughout the country.

On 25 June, 1870, a meeting of some hundred teachers was held in King's College, London, "for the purpose of taking steps to bring about a union among elementary teachers throughout England".⁴ The resolutions adopted were substantially the same as those of the committee of metropolitan teachers. At this meeting J. J. Graves was appointed President, J. Langton Vice-President, J. H. Devonshire Treasurer and William Lawson Secretary.⁵ Finally, on Saturday, 10 September, 1870, the first conference of the "National Union of Elementary Teachers"⁶

'Teachers' Association to ask the opinion of those gentlemen as to whether, in view of the impending educational changes which must necessarily affect the teachers, any steps can be taken to form the whole number of certificated teachers in Great Britain into one compact union" (*Educational Reporter*, March 1870).

⁴ Among those present were T. A. Smith, G. Collins, J. W. Grove, Hines, T. E. Heller, W. Lawson, Hart, Perry, J. Langton, Turner, J. J. Graves, J. H. Devonshire and J. R. Langer (*Educational Reporter* - July 1870).

⁵ *Educational Reporter*, July-August 1870.

A tradition of the N.U.T. has it that the actual founding of the union was due to "a young man called George Collins who came forward from behind a pillar and made an able speech" (*The Schoolmaster*, 8 June, 1901). This tradition is based on a remark made in the 1890's by J. R. Langer to Sir James Yoxall and on the fact that Collins did actually propose the first resolution at the convening meeting to the effect that a central council be established, consisting of representatives from every association of public elementary teachers in England (*Educational Reporter*, July 1870). If it is possible to attribute credit for the formation of the N.U.E.T. the greatest contribution was made by Lawson. The circumstances of his resignation tended to estrange him from the union in later years and his efforts in the early years were forgotten.

⁶ In 1888 the executive proposed a change of title to "National Union of English Teachers", considering the term "elementary teacher" to be degrading. Heated protests from the Welsh teachers led to "Welsh" being dropped from the title and at the 1889 conference the title was changed to "National Union of Teachers" (*The Schoolmaster*, 23, 30 June, 1888, 4 May, 1889). In this study I have used the initials N.U.E.T. to refer to the union until 1889 and N.U.T. for the period after that date.

was held at King's College, London. From 1870 onwards the N.U.E.T. has been the main association of elementary teachers and its conferences, activities and publications have mirrored the growth and problems of the profession.

In the proceedings at the first conference, the delegates discussed many of the problems which were to concern the union during the first twenty-five years of its existence. J. J. Graves, in the first presidential address, discussed the reasons why a national union had not been possible in the past. He claimed that in the voluntary schools, teachers had been forced to become religious partisans. The Education Act of 1870 had given the teacher a measure of freedom and independence and the rate-supported schools would provide many teachers with an opportunity to improve their incomes and better their positions. There was no class of men whose daily duties and personal interests were more frequently interfered with by legislation and hence the teachers must by necessity unite to influence such legislation. The weak resistance the teachers put up against the Revised Code should act as a permanent reminder of the need for unity.

Graves warmly welcomed the Education Act but pointed out that although there was no question that a large number of schools would be created, there was no part of the Act which indicated how properly qualified and trained teachers were to be found for them. Either the operation of the Act would have to be stayed for a time in many places *or* schools that were built would have to remain unused for want of efficient teachers *or* inferior and inefficient teachers would have to be employed. Graves feared that the Education Department would attempt to meet the demand by lowering the standard of the certificate and he considered that it would be better for both the teachers and the country if temporary teachers were recruited and permitted to teach without the certificate until men could be trained professionally for the work. Graves looked upon the 1870 Act as only one part of a future general scheme which would consolidate the whole means of education in the country, open a way between the elementary schools and the universities and enable elementary teachers to become masters of grammar schools.

The union would have to be ready at all times to express its opinion on the code. Teachers had latterly been treated with more respect "perhaps . . . because it is found that even M.P.s privately

consult teachers on educational matters, and the authorities believe it to be as well to receive views directly from teachers, as to have them retailed over the table of the House of Commons". The union should also concern itself with a superannuation scheme (promised in the Minutes of 1846), and with the promotion of experienced teachers to the Inspectorate. Inspectors appointed straight from the universities, "whose position in society, whose habits and studies are . . . widely separated from those of the working classes", inevitably found it difficult to gauge the capacity of children of the working classes. They took several years to learn their business and during those years they were guilty of many injustices.

Graves then turned to teachers' registration. A committee of schoolmasters (the College of Preceptors) had recommended that certificated teachers employed in elementary schools should not be entitled to registration. This was a very selfish move on the part of one section of the profession. Elementary teachers would have to look out for themselves, attend to their own interests, and not suffer the Bill (the Endowed Schools Bill No. 2) to be passed in the interests of any one section of the profession.

Graves supported compulsion being applied to street arabs and wanderers and suggested the opening of special ragged schools for them. He supported religious teaching of the basic truths of Christianity but suggested that distinctive denominational teaching ought to be given after a person had left the day school. He concluded with a stirring appeal to teachers to unite, for their future was in their own hands.

At the conference itself the main discussion took place on a statement of the objects of the union proposed by Lawson. The Nottingham Association proposed that the union should raise a

¹ *Educational Reporter*, December 1870.

² "The objects of the union are to unite together, by means of local associations, public elementary teachers throughout the kingdom, in order to provide a machinery by means of which teachers may give expression to their opinions when occasion requires, and may also take united action in any matter affecting their interests. The character of the union will be more fully seen when it is fully established, but the following topics will receive its immediate attention:

- (1) Revision of the Code
- (2) Working of the Education Act.
- (3) The establishment of a pension scheme
- (4) The throwing open of higher educational offices to elementary teachers.
- (5) The proposal to raise teaching to a profession by means of a public register of duly qualified teachers for every class of schools."

fund "sufficient to secure to teachers public protection and social security". Mr. Major (representative of the Nottingham Association) said that he had been deputed to propose that the organization should be based on the principles of trade unionism, but "without those objectionable features which had made a limited number of those institutions odious to the country". Major suggested as a policy for the union, the protection of the social interests of teachers in "great" cases (such as that in which the pecuniary value of the certificate was destroyed by the government), the sending of deputations to "interview" the Lord President of the Council when new codes were in creation, the publication of pamphlets to keep the public and Members of Parliament *au courant* with the opinions of teachers, the protection in the law courts and in times of exigency of distressed or oppressed members, the securing of the independence of teachers and freedom from all obnoxious interference, the securing of the fixity of tenure of the teacher's position unless he should prove incapable or unfit for his post, and lastly the obtaining of the recognition of the teacher as a government official irremovable at the caprice of local management and backed up by the assurance of a government retiring pension after a certain term of good service. The Nottingham resolutions were opposed by Mansford and T. E. Heller. Mansford considered that, if passed, they would place the N U E T in an attitude of hostility to the public which would be detrimental to the interests of teachers. Teachers had other interests besides material ones and all their interests were identical with the interests of education in general. Heller deplored the "pugnacious and warlike character of the propositions". After much discussion the resolutions were defeated by sixteen votes to twelve.*

*The "Nottingham Resolutions" were eventually passed by the 1872 conference by 162 votes to 154. The passage of the resolutions led to some uneasy feelings among Church schoolmasters (see *National Society Monthly Paper*, May-June 1872), and was the cause of the resignation of William Lawson. In his letter of resignation he wrote that "the uneasy feeling that is now abroad respecting strikes and combinations has caused the Report of the Special Committee on the Re-organization of the Union to be viewed with grave suspicion in many quarters, and I find that my position at St. Mark's College is no longer compatible with an official connection with the union" (*The Schoolmaster*, 14 September, 1872). The resignation of Lawson put the union in danger of disruption, but this was avoided by the work of T. Smith and T. E. Heller (*The Schoolmaster*, 29 August, 1885). In spite of the Nottingham resolutions, the union continued on the non-militant lines laid down by the 1870 conference.

Aims

In this first conference it is possible to see at work the two factors which have shaped the union and the problems which were to concern it in the first thirty years of its existence. The union (like the A.B.C.S. and the U.A.S.) was concerned both with advancing the interests of the teacher and with improving education. In doing these things it had to apply pressure both to the government and to its immediate employers. Its basic aims were:

- (1) Control of entrance to the profession and teachers' registration.
- (2) The recruitment of teachers to the Inspectorate
- (3) The gaining of a right of appeal
- (4) Superannuation
- (5) The revision of the educational code
- (6) The gaining of security of tenure
- (7) Freedom from compulsory extraneous duties.
- (8) Adequate salaries
- (9) Freedom from "obnoxious interference".¹¹

The first five of these problems were basically matters to be settled between the N.U.E.T. and the State, while the last four were primarily matters to be settled between the N.U.E.T. and the immediate employers of the teacher.

In the remainder of this chapter we will be considering the aims of the union in turn. In the next chapter we will consider the methods used by the union to achieve its aims and the internal structure of the union.

¹⁰ The establishment of the various benevolent, orphan and provident societies of the union lie outside the scope of this study. There is no doubt that they played an important part in attracting membership.

¹¹ The provisos "basically" and "primarily" are to be borne in mind. As we shall see the union was to turn to the State to achieve the last four aims.

¹² The period covered in these two chapters is roughly that from 1870 to 1895. In this period the educational system grew as follows:

	1871	1895
Number of Voluntary Schools	8978	14,479
Number of Board Schools	—	5260
Average attendance in Voluntary Schools	8,231,434	2,445,812
Average attendance in Board Schools	—	1,879,218
Expenditure on public education from voluntary subscriptions	£437,401	£836,428
Expenditure on public education by central authorities	£919,112	£6,704,614

(1) Control of entrance to the profession and teachers' registration

The control of entry into the profession is the basic aim of all professional organizations. While it is obviously in the interests of the existing members of the profession to regulate the supply of new professionals, the professionals have never looked upon their actions as guided purely by "self-interest". To raise the standards of the members of the profession and to protect the public from unqualified practitioners have generally been put forward as the ends to be served by professional monopoly.

The Revised Code had shown the teachers how easy it was for the government to alter the value of their certificates. The Act of 1870 had caused a sudden demand for teachers and as the teachers had feared, the standard of the certificate was lowered to secure the staffing of the schools.¹³ All these relaxations caused alarm among the existing teachers who feared a glut that would lower their remuneration. There was, however, one other factor which added bitterness to their protests. Many of them had obtained their certificates before the Revised Code, when to obtain a first-class certificate was a high mark of honour. They now saw the standard of the certificate being continually depressed, and their personal chagrin reinforced their professional anxiety. The increase in the number of pupil-teachers from 14,612 to 29,245 between 1870 and 1875 threatened the existing teachers with a hopelessly overcrowded profession. The union suggested various devices to prevent over-crowding and sent a deputation to W. E. Forster which was very roughly handled.¹⁴

		1870	1895
Certificated Teachers	Male	6395	21,223
	Female	6072	31,718
Assistant Teachers	Male	487	5047
	Female	775	22,914
Pupil-Teachers	Male	6384	7246
	Female	8228	26,757
Additional Teachers: Female		--	11,678

Special Reports on Educational Subjects, 1896-7 Education Department, vol. 1, "Public Elementary Education in England and Wales, 1870-95".

"In 1870 a new clause was inserted to the effect that, during the three years ending 31 December, 1873, certificates could be awarded without examination to experienced teachers upon the report of an inspector. "Provisionally—certificated ex-pupil-teachers" were also allowed to have charge of infant classes. No less than 1200 certificates without examination and 1000 provisional certificates enabling ex-pupil-teachers to take charge of small schools, were issued by 31 August, 1873. The code of 1876 still further relaxed the conditions for granting certificates without examination.

"I entirely approve of your meeting and consulting together, and even of bringing your representations to us, but the gentlemen who first addressed us said there were two objects which you had in view—the benefit of the

While this weakening of the certificate brought forward again the idea of teachers' registration, the issue of "Regulations as to Certificates of Age, School Attendance and Proficiency" on 9 February, 1877, forced the union into activity. Under clause 25 of these registrations the teacher was loaded with extra clerical work and threatened with cancellation of his certificate if he refused to perform it. T. E. Heller¹⁵ delivered an important address on "The Relation between Teachers and the Education Department" at the 1878 conference in which he accused the department of fastening upon the teachers "step by step the responsibilities and trammels of State service . . . while all the advantages of such service have been denied or withdrawn". He demanded that "the power of controlling the entrance into the profession must be placed in the hands of an independent representative body under the control of Parliament, and the teacher's diploma must be placed beyond the caprice or the necessities of a government department".¹⁶

profession and the benefit of the country. Now, do not let the public suppose that your action, in the endeavour to get changes in the Code or administration, is in order to benefit the profession of the schoolmaster, for depend upon it that the inference drawn from that will be that you claim a 'vested interest' in the matter, and that it is to be protected. If you had the work that I have had to do in Parliament, you would know that it was not an easy but a very difficult matter to maintain the certificated teacher. It is against the interests of the teachers to take the line of appearing to desire to place a limit upon the supply of teachers. The teachers the deputation represented obtained their training very much at the public cost and it should be for them having got into this position, to take the schools and leave buyers of education to find out the best article. He could not for a moment admit that they had any vested interest in the matter or that it was the business of the Department to consider the profession in any way except in connection with the question, what was best for the cause of education. W. E. Forster, in reply to a deputation on the supply of teachers, *Tn. Schoolmaster* 24, 31 January, 1874).

¹⁵ T. E. Heller had succeeded William Lawson as General Secretary of the N.U.E.T. (he was the first full-time paid secretary). He was born in 1837, the son of a schoolmaster, and had been trained at Cheltenham where he came under the influence of the Rev. C. H. Bromby. He commenced teaching in London in 1862 and was a foundation member of the London Church Teachers' Association and the N.U.E.T. He became Secretary of the Union in 1873. He was a member of the London School Board for many years and a Royal Commissioner (on the Cross Commission). He retired from the Secretaryship in 1891 due to ill-health and died in 1901. He was a churchman and a moderate Liberal.

¹⁶ "The certificate must become a diploma indeed, and be freed from the annual danger of falling into incompetent hands for endorsement. It must not be liable to cancellation or suspension except after open inquiry before a competent tribunal, and, after its holder has had ample opportunity of being personally heard in his own defence. Its retention must not be made subject to conditions subsequently imposed at the will of the department" (*N.U.E.T. Report*, 1878).

In 1877 a special committee of the N.U.E.T. on the "Certification and Registration of Teachers" had been set up. A conference was held with teachers of higher and middle-class schools¹⁷ and an agreement was reached on a plan for a "Representative Educational Council" incorporated by Act of Parliament which would issue diplomas to teachers allowing them to practise "the vocation of teaching". In 1879 a Bill was prepared and introduced into the House of Commons by Dr. Playfair, supported by Sir John Lubbock, "to provide for the Registration and Organization of Teachers". It was sponsored by the College of Preceptors and related only to intermediate schools, expressly excluding all public elementary schools. The N.U.E.T. opposed the Bill for it "set up a distinct line of separation between the certificated teachers and all other parts of the scholastic profession". The union sent communications through the local associations to M.P.s and to the promoters of the Bill and it was finally withdrawn. It was publicly admitted that the Bill had been stopped by the action of the elementary teachers.¹⁸

While teachers' registration was regarded as the ideal ultimate means for controlling entry into the profession, the question of "over-supply" was a pressing one. By 1879 the main attention of the elementary teachers was focused on the "glut" of Queen's Scholars and the "over-supply" of teachers.¹⁹ It was being said that employers were already taking advantage of the state of the market to reduce salaries. There were demands that the number of pupil-teachers per certificated teacher should be reduced and that all "side entrances" to the profession should be closed. The code of 1880 made various concessions to these demands. From 1880 onwards the union continued to exert steady pressure on the department to reduce the number of unqualified persons who

¹⁷ During the 1870's several attempts were made to bring the teachers of various grades together. The most important step towards unity was the foundation of the 'Teachers' Association' whose annual conference attempted 'to draw together . . . all the teaching power of the country'. Many of the leaders of the N.U.E.T. associated themselves with the 'Teachers' Association' which in 1880 had over 800 members.

¹⁸ In 1893 a similar Bill was introduced by Sir Richard Temple, M.P., excluding from the register certificated teachers. The N.U.T. used "extraordinary efforts . . . to obtain the repeated blocking of the Bill . . . when it stood on the orders of the day" (*N.U.T. Report, 1894*, xxv). See also *H.P.P.*, 1890-1, XVII, Special Report from the Select Committee on Teachers' Registration and Organization Bill.

¹⁹ There had been recurrent fears of over-supply from the beginning of the 1846 system.

were allowed to enter as "acting teachers" and to raise the standard of the certificate examination.

The Cross Commission of 1886 to 1888 considered the question of the supply of teachers in some detail. They found that whilst there was still a growing demand for fully qualified female teachers, the supply of trained male teachers was "somewhat in excess of the demand". The majority report suggested that the minimum staff of teachers in a school required by the code should be considerably increased, but refused to interfere with the pupil-teacher system or the system by which the untrained teachers could take certificates. The minority considered "that no persons should be recognized even as an assistant at the close of pupil-teachership without at least passing the scholarship examination in the first or second division"

The lack of success of the N.U.E.T. and the department in their attempts to improve the standards of the profession is shown in the first *Report of the Board of Education 1899-1900*. In 1899, of the 11,082 students examined for certificates 7113 had received no training. At the Queen's Scholarship examination held in December 1899, 12,125 candidates were examined of whom 10,128 passed creditably. Out of these only 2600 gained admission to a training college. The impression that emerges of the teaching staff is of a small band of trained certificated teachers immersed in a growing flood of untrained certificated teachers, assistant teachers, additional women teachers, pupil-teachers and probationers. This flood of cheap, untrained labour was mainly

"So that (a large number of) young persons, the great majority of whom earnestly desired to qualify themselves properly for their future work, were unable to do, and had to attain recognition as teachers by passing through what I cannot help calling the back door. That is by passing the government examination prescribed for acting teachers with the most inadequate preparation of a heavily hindered course of study pursued amid the labour of school work, with indifferent and insufficient instruction, and with too little time to digest and understand the true meaning and importance of the theory of education as bearing upon its practice" (*B.P.P.* 1900, XIX, pp 335-6, W. Scott Coward)

²¹ In 1899 there were 62,685 certificated teachers of whom

(1) 24,253 were male

Of these 69.3 per cent had been trained for two years

2.6 per cent had been trained for one year

28.1 per cent had not been trained

(2) 37,432 were female.

Of these 46.5 per cent had been trained for two years

2.6 per cent had been trained for one year.

50.9 per cent had not been trained

There were also 30,233 assistant teachers who were "uncertificated" or

female. The proportion of women teachers of all classes had increased from 53 per cent in 1869 to 75 per cent in 1899. The higher proportion of untrained and uncertificated teachers among the women was due in part to the severe shortage of training-college accommodation for them.²² The teachers were beginning to see that an expansion of the training-college system was necessary to reduce the "army of unqualified practitioners".²³ This expansion was seen as part of a programme which would also increase the resources of the teachers' employers, establish a system of teachers' registration, remove control of the certificate from the hands of the government and drive the unqualified from the profession

(2) *The recruitment of teachers to the Inspectorate*

Of all the teachers' grievances that were taken up by the union, it was the lack of promotion to the Inspectorate that was felt most keenly by the leaders of the profession and roused the deepest emotions. We have seen how even before the Revised Code there were requests from the teachers for the Inspectorate to be thrown open to them and how the Newcastle Commission had rejected these requests. The Commissioners did, however, recommend the employment of ex-certificated teachers, of not less than seven years' standing, to relieve H.M.I.s of most of the drudgery of payment by results. The Revised Code involved the appointment of approximately sixty "inspectors' assistants" but the terms of appointment were profoundly disappointing to the teachers. They were to be appointed under the age of thirty,²⁴ were to be paid relatively low salaries and were offered no chance at all of

"provisionally certificated". Of these about 25,500 were women and 4750 men. Many of these were preparing to attempt or re-attempt the certificate examination.

There were 16,717 *additional women teachers* (Article 68'sers). Their only qualifications were (a) 'They must be over eighteen years of age, (b) 'They must have been vaccinated, (c) 'They must satisfy the H.M.I.

There were 30,786 pupil-teachers of whom 24,702 were girls and 6081 boys. Lastly, there were about 2500 'probationers'.

²² In 1899, 2904 men were admitted to the Queen's Scholarship examination; 2556 passed successfully, 1008 were admitted to a training college.

In the same year, 9216 women were admitted to the Queen's Scholarship examination, and 7572 passed successfully, 1724 were admitted to a training college.

²³ In 1879-80 there were 30,896 certificated teachers to 10,530 uncertificated. By 1899-1900 there were 64,009 certificated teachers to 49,977 uncertificated.

²⁴ In 1886 the maximum age was raised to thirty-five.

promotion to the full Inspectorate. In spite of these handicaps, the posts were much in demand by young teachers. In the course of time, many of these "inspectors' assistants" came to be feared and despised by the rest of the profession. Confined, as they were, to the routine testing of the children, they were all too inclined to borrow the tone and grandeur of their H.M.I. in their dealings with the teachers.

Even before the Revised Code, there had been a deterioration in the quality of the inspectors. After 1870 no further clergymen were appointed to the Inspectorate which came to be recruited mainly, as one teacher put it, from "young men . . . fresh from the university, who have never seen the inside of a public elementary school, and who were babies in arms when I entered it myself". The teachers complained of their lack of knowledge, experience and sympathy, of the variety of standards they adopted and of their class arrogance. In all too many instances the inspector learnt his job at the expense of the teachers and there was no way in which the teacher could appeal against a decision he felt to be unjust. His salary depended upon the annual grant, his livelihood on his certificate which could be unfavourably endorsed, suspended or cancelled on the report of one of "his lordship's political friends, who, although quite innocent of the duties to be performed, were willing to learn them to the best of their ability on the receipt of a salary rising from £300 to £900 a year".²⁵

In 1882 Mr. Mundella formed a "Sub-Inspectorate" from the ranks of the inspectors' assistants.²⁶ They appear to have been appointed solely for reasons of economy and it was never intended that they should be promoted to the full Inspectorate. It was not until 1893 that the first sub-inspector was promoted.²⁷ Between 1894 and 1902 six ex-elementary teachers were promoted to the full Inspectorate. The battle was by no means won in 1902 as

²⁵ *N.U.E.T. Report*, 1878, Presidential Address.

It is to be noted that several inspectors gave evidence before the Cross Commission in favour of a more extended preparation, before they entered upon the full duties of their office (*B.P.P.*, 1888, XXXV, p. 73).

²⁶ The sub-inspectors were to do the same work as the inspectors, though subject to the review and supervision of the inspectors to whom they were attached.

²⁷ Both the majority and the minority reports of the Cross Commission had recommended the throwing open of all ranks of the Inspectorate to experienced elementary teachers. The minority report recommended that *only* experienced teachers should be appointed to the Inspectorate (*B.P.P.*, 1888, XXXV, pp. 73-4, 238, 325; *B.P.P.*, 1888, XXXVII, pp. 73-84).

the majority of inspectors were still being recruited from Oxford and Cambridge graduates. The N.U.T. pressed for all inspectors to have had adequate practical experience within State-aided schools and for the appointment of inspectors straight from the elementary schools instead of through the stages of "inspector's assistant"²⁴ and "sub-inspector". The primary school teachers "claim no monopoly of the Inspectorate, but they do claim that they shall not be debarred from it. Whatever university degree must be produced as a condition of future appointments may be demanded from them as from others."²⁵ However, even the slight hold that had been gained on the Inspectorate was lost in 1901. In that year the Inspectorate system was re-arranged. No more sub-inspectors were to be appointed, but instead a new grade of "junior inspectors" was instituted. By November 1901 it was obvious that the department intended the junior inspectors to be recruited solely from Oxford and Cambridge. It appeared that all chances of promotion in the State-aided system, above the rank of head teacher, were once more to be removed from the elementary teacher.

(3) *The gaining of a right of appeal*

As we have seen the power possessed by the inspector over the teacher was immense. Not only did the H.M.I. determine the annual grant and endorse the teacher's "parchment", but he might make personal representations to the school managers, and back up these representations by threatening withdrawal of the grant in order to have a teacher dismissed. From the earliest days there were repeated efforts to get some means of appeal against the inspector's decision, but as we have seen, the schoolmaster was not "recognized" directly by the State. He could only appeal through the manager and the manager was often unwilling to trouble himself over the affairs of his teacher. Under such conditions it is no wonder that the pages of *The Schoolmaster* were filled with teachers' complaints of loss of grant due to the inefficiency, bad humour or stupidity of the inspector.²⁶ It is impor-

²⁴ The regulation was still being enforced that no teacher could be admitted to the Inspectorate in any capacity after the age of thirty-five.

²⁵ N.U.T. Report, 1901, Presidential Address.

²⁶ The most vitriolic attacks were made by James Runciman. See his "Mr. Puzzle, H.M.I." (*The Schoolmaster*, 25 February, 1882) and his attack on the Rev. D. J. Stewart, H.M.I. (*The Schoolmaster*, 10 January 1891).

tant to remember, however, that in very many cases where an inspector was attacked by name by a teacher, other teachers would write in his defence.³¹

In 1877 the department began to publish a "black list" of teachers whose certificates had been cancelled or temporarily suspended, in consequence of falsified registration or of drunkenness or immorality, without having given the teachers any adequate opportunity of rebutting the charges against them. This created a great deal of indignation in the profession.

In 1878 began the famous "Goffin Case" Mr R. E. H. Goffin was headmaster of the United Westminster Schools (now the Westminster City School) and a member of the N.U.E.T. executive. He was accused by the Science and Art Department of having obtained access to examination papers and of passing on the information to his pupils and his certificate was withdrawn. The N.U.E.T., while refusing to deal with the innocence or guilt of Mr Goffin, considered that he had been found guilty before an adequate inquiry had been made and launched a campaign for an official inquiry. Members of Parliament were interviewed, a petition with over 3000 signatures was collected and Sir Sidney Waterlow, M.P., proposed a motion in the Commons asking for a Select Committee. The government accepted the motion and a Select Committee of nine members, with Robert Lowe as chairman, heard evidence for nearly a fortnight and concluded that Mr. Goffin was guilty of the alleged offences. While the union had its doubts about the way in which the inquiry was

³¹ F. H. Spencer has probably summarized the condition of inspection at that time as well as any man.

"It was the ex-schoolmaster assistants who did most of the actual work of examination. The unpopularity of H.M.I. himself was chiefly the outcome of his social superiority, or of a class arrogance not always concealed: that of his assistant was attributable to his skill and knowledge as a poacher turned gamekeeper: he knew the tricks of the trade, and too often effectively displayed his knowledge. But it would be unjust not to acknowledge that many of the old type of H.M.I. behaved, within the limits imposed by the system, like the gentlemen they mostly were. And their assistants like excellent schoolmasters performing a duty for which they had no enthusiasm conscientiously and usually fairly."

London Head Teachers' Association Jubilee Volume, 1888-1898 (1938).

pp. 114-15.

³² *B.P.P.*, 1878-9, X, Report on the circumstances as to the suspension of the certificate of Mr. Goffin, by the Science and Art Department (also *B.P.P.*, 1878-9, LVII).

conducted,³³ it accepted the verdict. It attempted to impress upon M.P.s that a parliamentary Select Committee was an inefficient and wasteful method for investigating individual grievances and that a permanent means of appeal was necessary.³⁴

The immediate aftermath of the Goffin Case was to arouse a great deal of ill-feeling towards the union. The union was accused by non-teachers of being desirous of shielding incompetency, fraud and immorality while militant members of the N.U.E.T. blamed the executive for deserting Goffin in 1880. The union continued to press for the right of appeal to an independent legal tribunal whenever a certificate was lowered, suspended or cancelled.³⁵ In 1880 Mr. Mundella promised that "no certificate will be cancelled, suspended or reduced until the department has informed the teacher of the charges against him, and has given him an opportunity of explanation."³⁶ The union did not obtain its demand for a public inquiry and Mundella considered "(no) good purpose would be served by personal explanations and (was) entirely opposed to the intervention of third parties".

The union continued to take up with the department the cases of individual teachers whom they considered to have been

³³ The Select Committee held its meetings in private, did not allow Mr. Goffin to employ counsel, to cross-examine the witnesses, or to be present during the evidence given against him. They also failed to call many witnesses who were prepared to give evidence in favour of Mr. Goffin.

³⁴ *N.U.E.T. Report, 1880, Secretary's Report of the Proceedings of the Select Committee on Mr. Goffin's Certificate.*

While it is obviously impossible at this time to decide whether Goffin was in fact guilty of dishonesty, as opposed to astute cramming, the later history of the "Goffin Case" should be mentioned if only in the interests of justice. Goffin continued to protest his innocence and the governors of his school, backed by the parents and the old boys, declared their belief in his innocence and refused to dismiss him. Gradually, opinion in the profession swung in his favour and in 1881 the N.U.E.T. took the case up again. The only means of appeal open to Goffin was to sue Colonel Donnelly of the Science and Art Department who had accused him of dishonesty. Colonel Donnelly, however, pleaded privilege and the plea was accepted. The Education Department and Lord George Hamilton (Vice-President of the Council in 1879) continued to pursue Goffin with implacable hatred and the matter was raised in Parliament several times. Goffin never got back his certificate, but by 1886 (aided by his pupils' continued success in their examinations), the charges against him were practically withdrawn. It was only after the 1902 Act that Goffin eventually resigned.

³⁵ The teacher should "be allowed to appear in person, or by a representative to answer such charges" (*N.U.E.T. Report, 1880, pp. lv, lxxviii, lxxviii*).

³⁶ *N.U.E.T. Report, 1881, pp. xliii, xlv.* In a "Circular to H.M. Inspectors in England and Wales", issued on 9 August, 1882, Mundella further protected the teacher by allowing him to appeal to the Senior Inspector of the division in the case of an adverse report (*The Schoolmaster, 19 August, 1882*).

wronged. During the tenure of office of Sir Francis Sandford (1870-84) these representations were well received, but when he was replaced by Patric Cumin the union found its representations ignored.³⁷ It commenced campaigning for a more public means of appeal and attacked the department as autocratic and vindictive. In 1890 Sir George Kekewich replaced Cumin and the relations between union and department were transformed. Difficult cases were decided by personal consultation between Kekewich and Yoxall (Secretary of the N.U.T., 1892-1924).³⁸ The union had established its right to be consulted in cases of withdrawal of the certificate, although its influence rested on the man-to-man relationship of the Secretaries of the Education Department and of the N.U.T. For the profession as a whole, the question of the withdrawal of the certificate was the converse of the question of the award of the certificate. A "General Educational Council" controlling entrance to the profession would also control exclusion.

(4) *Superannuation*

The struggle of the teachers for a satisfactory pension scheme is of the utmost importance in the history of the profession since it directly affected the relationship between the teacher and the State. The withdrawal of the right to a pension by the Revised Code served to perpetuate the "ideology of betrayal" which was typical of the N.U.T. until comparatively recently. Finally, the pension campaign was one of the main causes of the

³⁷ The reasons for the bad relationship between the union and the department during Cumin's tenure of office will be considered later.

³⁸ "One of the principal matters that came up for discussion between the union officials and myself was the protests of members of the union whose teaching certificates had been suspended or cancelled by the Department . . . The Secretary, Mr (now Sir J.) Yoxall, came to see me to inquire into the facts. My invariable practice was to send for all the papers relating to the matter, and ask the Secretary to sit down and read them, and then discuss the merits of the case if he saw any cause to differ from the decision. The whole evidence was in the official papers, and nothing was withheld. I was always as lenient as possible, but I held the view and often expressed it to the union secretary, that in a really bad case it was better for the union itself that the man should lose his certificate than continue to disgrace an honourable profession, and, I think, the secretary fully agreed. I am glad to say that, as far as I can remember, on no single occasion did his verdict, after he had read the whole of the evidence and discussed it, differ from my own" (G. Kekewich, *The Education Department and After*, 1920, p. 67).

³⁹ For a general account see W. R. Barker, *The Superannuation of Teachers in England and Wales*, 1926.

foundation of the N.U.E.T. and occupied much of the attention of the union during the period under discussion.

We have seen in earlier chapters how the Minute of 1846 promised teachers' pensions, how the provision was limited in 1851, 1853 and 1857 and withdrawn in 1862. From the revival of the teachers' associations in 1867 until 1875 there was a continuous agitation for the award of pensions to teachers. Various schemes were suggested under which a percentage of the grants to schools would be deducted "at source" in order to build up a pension fund. On 3 June, 1872, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire:

"Whether by a deduction from the parliamentary grant in aid of public elementary schools, or by any other like means, a provision can be made for granting annuities to the certificated teachers of such schools upon their retirement by reason of age or infirmity."⁴

The report of the committee dealt in the main with the claim which had been set up under the promises contained in the Minutes of 1846 and 1851, and did not deal, except in passing, with the broader question of a general scheme for all teachers. On the whole, the report of the committee was not favourable to the claims of the teachers and the "Teachers' Superannuation Bill" was withdrawn.

The N.U.E.T. did not accept its defeat but continued to agitate for the restoring of pensions. It brought forward new evidence on the "promise" of pensions in 1846, and in June 1875 the Committee of Council revived its pension scheme for entrants to the profession before 1862, subject to the limit of £6500 a year.⁴¹ The resuscitation of the pension Minutes after a dormant period of thirteen years, and in the face of an adverse report by a Select Committee was regarded as a personal victory for the N.U.E.T. and it was hoped that it would "convince even the most

⁴ In the debate on the proposed Teachers' Superannuation Bill which preceded the appointment of the Select Committee, Mr W. E. Forster stated that "Teachers were not civil servants. The State neither employed them nor paid them. . . he could not recognize any claim on the part of the teachers upon the State" (*Educational Reporter*, June 1872).

⁴¹ In 1884, Mundella removed the limitation on the number of pensions before 1851 and the limit of £6500 a year was to apply only to entrants between 1851 and 1862. The problem of the "old guard" (i.e. those who had commenced teaching before 1862) was still concerning the union as late as 1912, when there were 470 of them receiving only £20 a year as pension from the government.

apathetic that the N.U.E.T. is of some practical use, and has achieved some practical good".⁴²

Once the claim of the older teachers to pensions (on however limited a scale) had been recognized, it would seem that not much time would elapse before a general scheme of pensions would be brought into force. Against the parsimony of the Treasury, the almost unanimous conclusion of Royal Commissions, Select Committees and the House of Commons itself were of little avail. The union itself concentrated for a period on the formation of a provident fund with provisions for pensions as one of the benefits under the scheme. The Cross Commission reported in favour of a superannuation scheme "by means of deferred annuities, supplemented by the Education Department out of moneys provided by Parliament". Nothing was done, however, and the executive continued its pressure.

From 1885 onwards the London School Board had been considering a pension scheme for its teachers. The majority of the London Board teachers were at first opposed to a contributory scheme but became reconciled to it after various concessions were made by the Board. The voluntary teachers, however, opposed any scheme which would exclude them from its benefits. Finally, in 1891, the London School Board introduced a special Bill for London teachers. The Bill was committed to a Select Committee on 27 January, 1891, and on 26 February the committee was instructed "to consider the whole question of the superannuation of elementary school teachers in England and Wales". The committee reported on 27 May, 1892, in favour of a general superannuation scheme. After a monster campaign by the N.U.T., the House on 24 February, 1893, passed, without a division, a motion that:

"It is desirable that a national State-aided system of superannuation for teachers in public elementary schools in England and Wales should be established at an early date"

A Departmental Committee was set up to review the recommendations of the Select Committee. It reported on 28 November, 1894, and a Bill was prepared to put its proposals into effect. The Bill was actually in Mr. Acland's pocket, waiting introduction in the next few hours when the Liberal Government was defeated

in July 1895. It was not until 8 August, 1898, that a Bill was eventually passed. Unsatisfactory as the Act was (from the teacher's point of view) it was recognized as a great victory for the N.U.T. and has provided the basis for all later legislation on "Teachers' Superannuation".

(5) *The revision of the educational code*

From 1870 to 1895 the system of individual examination and payment by results determined the work done in the schools. By far the largest part of the educational work of the union was concerned with the negotiations around the various "codes" laying down the examination curricula on which the teachers worked.⁴³ The basic aim of the union was clear and simple—it was to secure the complete abolition of payment by results and a return to the 1846 conditions of inspection. The teachers considered the Revised Code unsound in theory and demoralizing in practice. While many of the experienced teachers succeeded in obtaining a high percentage of passes and hence a high salary (sometimes by rather unscrupulous methods), the profession as a whole was completely opposed to payment by results. The teaching profession, and only the teaching profession, never wavered in its opposition to Lowe's creation.⁴⁴ The Education Department, its officials and inspectors, the voluntary organizations, the School Boards and the "educationists" supported payment by results until the late 1880's and were only weaned from it with great reluctance.

Within the general lines of policy, the union constantly manoeuvred for minor changes in the code in the direction of leniency. Before each revision of the code (which was generally revised each year) a stream of suggestions would be sent up to the department by deputation, memorial, petition and letter. In many instances these suggestions would be accepted, although the extent to which the union could influence the code varied from year to year. The most controversial changes were those which

⁴³ For a summary of the changes in the code see C. Birchenough, *History of Elementary Education*, 1938, pp. 316-22.

⁴⁴ Cf. A. N. Lowndes (*op. cit.*, p. 14) implies that teachers as a body supported payment by results and inspectors as a body opposed it. This is a complete reversal of the facts. The inspectors, with a few notable exceptions (mainly inspectors appointed before 1862), were among the staunchest supporters of individual examination on a fixed syllabus. For the views of the teachers see *N.U.E.T. Report*, 1881, pp. lxxvi-xcviii, also *B.P.P.*, 1887, XXIX, §13,685-14,047 and *B.P.P.*, 1888, XXXV, pp. 2 and 333-4.

would increase the standard of the examination without increasing the grant. From Forster's first code of May 1871 there was a continuous tendency to "apply the screw" or to "string up" the work in the schools. If the teachers opposed this "stringing-up" on the grounds of over-pressure on the children, they were accused of laziness and of putting their own selfish interests before the interests of education.

The "over-pressure" controversy of 1880 to 1885 illustrates these difficulties. In 1880 Mr A. J. Mundella, an "advanced" educationist and a staunch friend of the N.U.E.T., was appointed Vice-President of the Committee of Council. The union settled itself down for a period of "harmonious co-operation between the representatives of the Education Department and those of the profession". Mundella consulted the N.U.E.T., the H.M.I.s and the permanent staff before announcing his proposals for a new code. While the proposals made substantial concessions to the union,⁴ they laid down that the full grant to a school could only be obtained by passing 100 per cent of the children on the roll. The union thanked Mundella for the concessions he had made to its representations but warned him that the "stringing-up" in the code together with the insistence on 100 per cent would produce "over-pressure" on the teachers and the scholars. Greater freedom and flexibility should accompany any raising of the standards of education.

The executive came under severe criticism from two directions. Some of the members of the union blamed the executive for the "stringing-up" of the standards and criticized it for not acting vigorously enough against Mundella. "Liberal educationists" and Liberal politicians in general accused the union of betraying the cause of higher education and concerning itself with the selfish interests of the teachers.

The union continued with its attempts to improve the code and the 1882 code and the subsequent "Instructions to Inspectors" met some of their objections. The executive decided to give the new regulations a fair trial and pressed only for minor changes. After nine months' work, they protested to the department that the pressure upon children and teachers had been "intensified

⁴ It provided for right of appeal, regulated and reformed the Inspectorate, reduced the number of pupil-teachers, etc.

⁵ See Percy Dane, *Mad by Act of Parliament, or, Groans from Helpless Victims*, 1887, p. 124.

rather than diminished and that the grant should either be given upon average attendance, rather than individual passes, or else managers should be allowed to withhold from examination in elementary subjects no more than 10 per cent of the scholars qualified for presentation. The executive still believed in the good intentions of Mr. Mundella and appealed to the teachers to co-operate in working the code, but in the face of growing discontent among the rank and file it was forced to join in the campaign against "over-pressure".⁴⁷ It complained of over-strain upon young, dull, weakly and backward scholars due to the excessive requirements of the code. The issue of "over-pressure" attracted great public attention with the publication of the report of Dr Crichton-Browne and J. G. Fitch's comments thereon by the Education Department.⁴⁸ The campaign against over-pressure was taken up by Conservative and Church opponents of the Liberal educational policy. The Church and the Catholics complained that the provisions of the Mundella Code bore too heavily on their schools, while many Conservatives used the over-pressure issue to campaign against over-education in the schools.⁴⁹ The campaign continued throughout 1884 and 1885 and became part of the general "schools question" of the 1885 election.

The part played by the union in agitating against over-pressure led to a radical worsening of the relations between the officials of the N.U.E.T. and the permanent officials of the Education Department. The union complained that the permanent officials were no longer paying attention to the representations of the executive on behalf of individual teachers and on the workings of the code. The department, after the resignation of Mr. Mundella

"The question of 'over-pressure' was raised first by Dr. Treichler in a letter to *The Times*, April 1880. It aroused much interest and led to a protracted correspondence."

"B.P.P., 1884, LXI. Report of Dr. Crichton-Browne to the Education Department upon the alleged over-pressure of work in public elementary schools, also Mr. Fitch's Memorandum thereon."

B.P.P., 1884, LXI. Return of cases which have been reported to the department, in which over-pressure has been alleged as the cause of illness."

The Fitch-Crichton-Browne controversy was continued in *The Times* for several months.

"All those who are opposed to any system of State-aided education, or who believe that three (small) r's should be the alpha and omega of elementary instruction—but who, at this time of day, are afraid openly to oppose education—joyfully re-echo the cry (of over-pressure) as likely to injure the cause" (Sydney Buxton, *"Over-Pressure" and Elementary Education*, 1885). Note also J. G. Fitch's reference to the N.U.E.T.'s "mischievous agitation" (N.U.E.T. Report, 1886, p. xxiii).

in 1885, practically nullified the concessions he had introduced in the codes of 1883 and 1884 by their application of the clauses relating to the withholding and re-presentation of scholars. Overstrain was worse in 1885 and 1886 than ever before and there was an increasing tendency to raise the standard of inspection. However, there was now a growing awareness outside the teaching profession of the dangers of payment by results.⁵¹ Encouraged by these signs of change, by an increasing membership and by increasing militancy among the rank and file of the union, the N.U.E.T. was stimulated to fight for the complete destruction of payment by results. In 1888 Mr W. J. Pope delivered a presidential address which included an attack on payment by results of unparalleled bitterness.⁵²

Neither the majority nor the main minority report of the Cross Commission recommended the complete abolition of payment by results although both recommended considerable modification.⁵³ Dr Dale and T. E. Heller dissented from the minority report and demanded the complete abandonment of payment by results as also did Lord Norton dissenting from the majority report and J. G. Talbot, M.P., in a division on Dale's and Heller's motion.⁵⁴ The code of 1889, in spite of the recommendations of the Cross Commission, tightened still further the demands on the teachers. However, it was the last safeguard move of Patric Cumin. In 1890 George Kekewich was appointed to the Secretaryship of the Education Department and the new code of 1890, the "teachers' code", changed the existing regulations completely. It did not put an end to payment by results and the teachers criticized some of its details but the increased liberty of classification and Kekewich's efforts to secure increased fairness in inspection were warmly welcomed. Kekewich soon won the complete trust of the teachers by his obvious intention to put an end to payment by

⁵¹ Mr. Mundella himself announced his conversion in a speech at Borough Road in January 1887 in the following words: "I would get rid of payment by results, and we should get rid of the cast-iron system which make it as elastic as you will, we can never adapt to all the varying needs and wants of a large community and which will always have a tendency to drive teachers to teach that which 'pays best'." (Quoted in *N.U.E.T. Report*, 1887, p. lxxxviii).

⁵² *N.U.E.T. Report*, 1888, Presidential Address, pp. xliii-xxxv.

⁵³ *B.P.P.*, 1888, XXV, pp. 220, 312.

⁵⁴ *B.P.P.*, 1888, XXV, pp. 225, 313-4, 471-2.

On the other side Sir Francis Sandford dissented from the majority and "resented the slurs cast upon the principle of payment by results" (*ibid.*, p. 231).

results, by his attitude towards the representations of the N.U.T. and by his determination to raise the level of inspection.⁴⁴ Finally, in 1895, he completely abolished payment by results. In future an "annual examination" on the old style would be given only to schools that were below "a good educational standard". Although fragments of the old system still remained, the union was satisfied "that an honest effort has been made to render school life happier and more useful for all concerned".

The abolition of payment by results was not the only educational aim of the N.U.T. throughout the period under discussion. It pressed for secondary and technical education and for the construction of an "educational ladder". A great deal of effort was expended in pressing for legislation to ensure compulsory attendance and in attempting to ensure that the law compelling school attendance was effectively, stringently and promptly administered. The union, or sections of it, took up the causes of the "half-timer" and the undernourished, unhealthy or feeble-minded child. But it is in the schoolroom itself that the teachers made their greatest contribution to education. As H. C. Dent has rightly written:

"Of working-class origin themselves, they refused to restrict their working-class pupils to the tools of education, and insisted upon giving them as liberal an education as they could . . . throughout the initiative has been theirs."

(6) *The gaining of security of tenure*

The desire for a satisfactory tenure of office was present in the union at its foundation and in 1878 the N.U.T. took the opinion of a solicitor. He reported that while no statutory tenure existed, custom had fixed the practise of giving three months' notice on either side in the case of a head teacher and one month in the case of an assistant teacher. This custom was supported by legal precedents in the case of analogous employments and was generally recognized in common law proceedings. As against this, he pointed out that the Act of 1870 (Section 35) had laid down that teachers in board schools held office only "during the

⁴⁴ The last was a most important point. Increased freedom in the schools gave the inspector an increased range in which he could inspect. Even more depended on the competence and fairness of the H.M.I. than in the past (see *N.U.T. Report 1892*, pp. xxv-xxx).

⁴⁵ H. C. Dent, *Change in English Education*, 1952, pp. 80-1.

pleasure of the Board". The union pressed for an amendment to the Act to require notice on dismissal and for a board of appeal in cases of unjust and capricious dismissal. In 1888 it prepared a Bill on tenure of office but this proved abortive.

Instances of capricious dismissals were constantly coming before the N.U.E.T. executive. A new vicar, on arrival, would often dismiss the teacher. Teachers were dismissed for failing to carry out minor wishes of the vicar or for failing to show proper respect to their "master". Teachers were dismissed for refusing to perform excessive extraneous duties, for attempting to secure regular attendance or for not buying "at one of the managers' shops". Certificated teachers were dismissed in order to make room for an "Article 68'er". Owing to the overstocking of the market, old teachers who were dismissed only too often faced utter ruin. The mere fact of dismissal involved a slur and with several candidates for each post the dismissed teacher was at once passed over.

The first attempts by the union to secure a Tenure Act were unsuccessful and it was forced to take other steps to deal with recalcitrant managers. While these methods were relatively successful, the union continued to press for legislation. Again and again in the 1890's Mr. Acland announced his intention of bringing in a Bill but legal and administrative difficulties blocked the way. The code of 1898 stated that the department might in future refuse to recognize any teacher whose terms of engagement were not expressed in writing. The N.U.T. prepared a memorandum of agreement and urged members to refuse to take service with any authority which was not prepared to subscribe to the memorandum. In spite of all these efforts, the number of tenure cases coming before the executive continued to increase. The Superannuation Act of 1898 still further aggravated the problem and the union pressed for a compulsory form of agreement with a clause specifying the particular causes for which a teacher could be dismissed. The tenure question became in the late 1890's one of the union's most important problems.

The N.U.T. was most concerned to point out that they did not wish to countenance incompetency or misconduct. Indeed if, in any case, the union's Tenure Committee formed the opinion that the interests of the school and the scholars conflicted with those

of the teacher, the teacher was advised to give way and resign. They based their claim to secure tenure on the ground that, as public servants, the government should protect them when they were doing their duty to the State to the satisfaction of the H.M.I., and on the further ground that, as professionals, they should feel free to protest against the actions of their employers, without fear of dismissal, when they felt those actions to be against the interests of education.

(7) *Freedom from compulsory extraneous duties*

Village teachers often had to be prepared to play the organ, train the choir, take charge of the Sunday school and perform a variety of parochial offices. The teacher was frequently the only person in the parish who could perform these duties and it is clear that the ability to perform them was looked upon by many clergymen-managers as more important than mere technical ability to teach. The N.U.T. carried out a survey in four selected districts in 1891 which showed that about 400 out of 1200 teachers were so placed that their position depended upon the performance of extraneous work. Teachers did not object to performing extraneous tasks if it were left to their own decision but objected to compulsion. As almost the whole income of many schools was derived from public money, it appeared to the N.U.T. that State money paid for educational purposes was being improperly used for the payment of work outside the school.

To those who said that the solution lay in the hands of the teachers themselves, the union replied that as long as there was an over-supply of poorly qualified teachers it would be necessary for teachers to undertake employment under any conditions. In 1891 the union sent a deputation to Sir William Hart-Dyke (Vice-President of the Council) on compulsory extraneous duties and on political and religious discrimination in the schools. Hart-Dyke admitted the existence of the evil but stated that the department could do little about it without extending centralization to a dangerous extent. He suggested that "the National Union of Teachers in itself as being a very powerful body might take some action to protect teachers on their engagement". He did, however, make the solid promise that "if a teacher is dismissed without a character, or with one which would injure his future, I think the department might, on appeal, investigate the

circumstances of the case, and, if the managers are found to have acted harshly, do their best to secure the teacher from any injurious consequences to himself" With this promise the teachers had to be content, although they continued their regular protests at insecurity of tenure and compulsory extraneous duties until the 1902 Act.

(8) *Adequate salaries*

We have noticed previously that the question of salaries played a much smaller part in the activities of the early teachers' associations than it did in the Trade Unions. Raising the teachers' salaries was to be done not through a direct approach to the employers but through separate action on the two main determinants of salary — supply and demand.

We have dealt in some detail with the attempt of the N.U.T. to control the supply of teachers. As long as there was an almost unlimited supply of cheap, inefficient labour the union was almost helpless. Fortunately, the certificated teacher was more efficient at obtaining grants, and from 1882 onwards was favoured by the staffing regulations of the department. Each attempt of the department to raise the standard of staffing came up against bitter resistance from the voluntary schools. The demand side was even more difficult to influence. Many of the village schools were unable to afford to pay a certificated teacher an adequate salary. On the whole, the teachers working for a large School Board were well paid. The teacher working in a small voluntary school knew that his employer could not afford to pay him more; while the teacher under a small School Board often had a board of managers who had been elected to "keep the rates down".

The 1893 Conference of the N.U.T. passed a resolution favouring direct action to raise salaries and suggesting the formation of a special sustentation fund for teachers "who refuse to work for a miserable pittance". When the local associations were circulated to obtain their opinion on a levy of 3s. per member, the levy was rejected by 6354 votes to 1172. From 1894 onwards, in spite of

¹¹ In 1892 the average salary of a certificated assistant master in a Board School was £100, in a Wesleyan School £76, in a Roman Catholic School £74 and in a Church School £67. Of a certificated assistant mistress Board £77, Catholic and Wesleyan £48, Church of England £47. A principal teacher would receive more.

See *N.U.T. Report, 1893*, pp. xcvi-xcviii.

opposition from nonconformist and radical members, the N.U.T. was increasingly committed to a policy favouring further State aid for voluntary schools as the only means of raising salaries and remedying other existing defects.

(9) *Freedom from "obnoxious interference"*

By freedom from "obnoxious interference" the teachers meant freedom from excessive regulation of their work in the schools by their employers. The freedom of the teacher to administer corporal punishment was challenged by the large school boards from their foundation.⁵⁸ In 1871 the London School Board absolutely prohibited pupil-teachers from inflicting corporal punishment, held the head teacher "directly responsible" for all punishments and recommended the keeping of a formal record of all punishments in a book. In 1874 the prohibition was extended to certificated assistant teachers. This prohibition led to a long and heated controversy between the board, the teachers and the parents.⁵⁹ The teachers complained that such regulations showed a want of confidence in the teacher and that every principal teacher should be left perfectly free to adopt such measures as he considered necessary to maintain good discipline. They also maintained that in the elementary schools of the time corporal punishment, judiciously used, was a legitimate, valuable and necessary means of maintaining good discipline.⁶⁰

The teachers objected to the "sentimental theories of those, who neither know the necessities of school work nor understand the nature and amount of the punishment which is inflicted in public elementary schools". It is certainly true that the difficulties of the teachers in the first period of compulsion were immense, and it is possibly true that only large doses of corporal punishment could have kept the schools of the time in order. The teachers did, however, lose a great deal of progressive and working-class sympathy by their insistence on full freedom to inflict corporal punishment.

⁵⁸ M. E. Highfield and A. Pinsent, *A Survey of Rewards and Punishments in Schools*, 1952, contains much useful material on the historical, sociological and administrative problems of corporal punishment. See especially Chapters 2 and 3.

⁵⁹ See M. E. Highfield and A. Pinsent, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-57, 86-7. The main protest of the parents against allowing assistant teachers to inflict corporal punishment came from politically radical working-men's associations.

⁶⁰ The teachers' case for corporal punishment is put at its strongest in T. J. Macnamara, *Schoolmaster Sketches*, 1896, pp. 95-104.

We have now considered the nine basic aims of the union in the first twenty-five to thirty years of its existence. We have noticed two complete victories for the union—the ending of payment by results and the institution of a pension scheme. As against these victories no progress had been made in controlling entrance; teachers' registration seemed as far off as ever and the Inspectorate seemed to be slipping still further out of reach. The "right of appeal" still remained to be placed on a formal basis. Security of tenure, an ending of compulsory extraneous duties and adequate salaries waited upon further State intervention. Put thus baldly it must appear that no great progress had been made. The "Heller" period (1873-92) was, however, mainly a period during which the N.U.T. built up its membership and developed the methods of exerting pressure which were to produce such striking gains under J. H. Yoxall between 1892 and 1924.

CHAPTER NINE

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE N.U.E.T.—II

"We must remember that our character, our interest, our independence, our prosperity are all in our own hands. We have no right to expect other men to think and act for us, or to look after our welfare. . . Teachers never appear to me to understand what some of our advanced politicians know perfectly, that if they only call out loud enough, and often enough, some of the complaints or demands . . . are sure to be heard, and in the long run attended to."

J. J. Graves¹

Methods

The methods adopted by the N.U.E.T. to achieve its aims stemmed logically from the situation in which the profession was placed and the specific "ideology" of the teachers. Since so much of the teacher's working life was immediately influenced by government policy, the union was forced to devise methods of exerting pressure on the government. While the anomalous position of the teachers had many disadvantages, it made the exertion of political pressure an easier matter than it they had been a part of the civil service. On the other hand, the disinclination to adopt "trade union" methods was due in part to the desire of teachers to distinguish their position in society from that of the manual workers, but owed as much to the "professional" spirit of the teachers and to the feeling that any direct action would hurt the children more than the employers.

We have seen these factors at work in the discussion and defeat of the "Nottingham Resolutions" at the first conference of the N.U.E.T. The resolutions were passed by a small majority in 1872 and the conference agreed to the accumulation of a reserve fund and the appointment of a paid secretary, but no further steps were taken towards "trade unionism". The methods used by the union can be considered under three headings, i.e. :

¹ In the first presidential address to the N.U.E.T. (*Educational Reporter*, December 1870)

² This has always been recognized by the leaders of the profession and used as an argument against agitations for inclusion in the civil service.

- (1) Exertion of pressure on the Education Department.
- (2) Exertion of pressure on Parliament.
- (3) Exertion of pressure on the "employers".

(1) *Exertion of pressure on the Education Department*

The early teachers' associations had sent memorials to the Education Department from 1853 onwards. With the formation of the N.U.E.T., a constant stream of memorials, documents, petitions and letters flowed from the union offices to the Education Department, while on major occasions the union executive would send a deputation to the President and Vice-President of the Council. It is difficult to understand why Kekewich wrote of the higher officials of the Education Department that "teachers they never saw, for teachers were never accorded an interview at Whitehall, and if a teacher dared to ask for one, he was directed to apply through the managers of his school, who were often the very persons at whom his complaints were aimed. Even the N.U.T. was not recognized, nor were its officials admitted within the sacred gates." It is true that individual teachers were not allowed to apply direct to the department, and it was also true that the N.U.E.T. was not recognized. But the officials of the union were in constant communication with the department during the term of office of Sir Francis Sandford (1870-84) and the union had "a very powerful share in that external pressure which regulates the administration of the department."⁴ As the executive reported in 1885

"From that time (1872) to the present every opportunity has been afforded the representative of the teachers long known to the Department their views on any subjects relating to elementary education, and at no time has this valuable system of inter-communication between the Department and the teachers been more freely utilized than since the accession of Mr. Mundella to office. The cordiality of these relations has been due, to no small extent, to the courtesy of Sir Francis Sandford."

As we have seen, the union's activities in the "over-pressure" controversy led to a worsening of relations with the department

³ Kewewich, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁴ *The School Guardian*, 7 April, 1877.

⁵ *N.U.E.T. Report*, 1885, pp. 13-15. Sandford's "uniform kindness and attention" to the communications of the union was not affected by his complete disagreement with their educational aims (*B.P.P.*, 1888, XXXV, p. 231).

from 1884 onwards. From 1884 to 1890 (i.e. during the Secretaryship of Patric Cumin) the department was hostile to the union and ignored its representations. The union blamed Cumin personally for the change. While relations remained bad during Cumin's reign, it should be noted that it was still possible for satisfactory interviews to be held between the Vice-President of the Council and the department officials and officials of the N.U.E.T. In 1890 Kekewich succeeded Cumin and he has described the situation in the following passage from his autobiography.

"The National Union, which had already become a large and powerful body, was not "recognized", and the Department pretended to ignore its very existence. The officials were forbidden to correspond with the secretary of the Union, and if he brought forward any complaint on behalf of a teacher, he was actually told to prefer it through the managers of his school, and no further notice was taken of the letter. . . . It was, of course, not possible to alter all this and to gain the confidence of the teachers (which was indispensable) without a complete and sustained change of policy. But it was obvious that the first thing to be done was to enter into direct relations with the teachers by recognizing the Union and its officers. . . .

. . . "I went accordingly to Lord Cranbrook and placed the matter before him, and he, with his usual good sense, agreed without demur. I have never regretted this step. The teachers understood it, and rightly, as a sort of material guarantee that their complaints and their status would at any rate meet with consideration. . . .

. . . "From that day until I finally left the office, my relations with the teachers constantly grew more cordial and intimate, and I owed to the advice of the union officials, and the expression of opinion and the resolutions passed at the Union conferences, numerous and excellent suggestions for the improvement, from time to time, of Departmental regulations. . . .

. . . "I was always absolutely frank with the teachers and with the officials of the Union. I never said one thing to their faces and another behind their backs, nor did I ever write anything respecting them in an official minute which I should have had any objection to them reading."^a

During the Secretaryship of Sir George Kekewich, firm and cordial relations were thus established between the union and the department. Besides the more formal letters, memorials and deputations, there were frequent private conferences between the

^a G. Kekewich, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-6.

officials of the N.U.T. and the permanent officials of the department. From 1895 onwards the growing controversy over educational reconstruction began to cloud the harmonious relationship which had been established. While Kekewich remained a supporter of consultation with the N.U.T., the union considered that "the details of the administration of the Board of Education under the rule of Sir John Gorst have ~~no~~ been for the benefit of elementary schools, and in so far as it has been directed to restraining them and the teachers in them within limits which the union refuses to accept, the administration has been positively hostile" ¹.

(2) *Exertion of pressure on Parliament*

In Chapter VII we described the important part played by the conferences between M.P.s and teachers in the controversy around the Education Act of 1870. It was only to be expected that the N.U.E.T. should imitate this method of influencing Members of Parliament. As early as March 1871 a conference was held between certain M.P.s and a number of N.U.E.T. members to inform the M.P.s on the views of teachers on the new code, and as a result of this conference, a joint deputation was sent to Mr W. E. Forster composed of N.U.E.T. members and six Members of Parliament. This "conference" method of briefing M.P.s could only be used on rare occasions. More important in influencing the mass of M.P.s were the memorials sent to them by local associations and the deputations of schoolmasters that waited on them almost every time they visited their constituencies. The union combined the detailed instruction of a few Members of Parliament who were friendly towards the teachers' cause with a diffuse and persistent pressure on the mass of M.P.s.

An early example of a successful "agitation" was the pension campaign of 1875, already mentioned. A detailed statement was

¹ N.U.T. Report, 1902, p. xxxviii.

² See *The Schoolmaster*, 17 February 1872. "Last week witnessed the return to Westminster of the members of the British House of Commons, refreshed and renewed. . . . Accustomed to receive deputations of publicans and permissive Bill advocates, malt tax repealers and supporters of women's rights, we trust that a novel and an agreeable sensation has been experienced by many of them while being extensively interviewed by schoolmasters. . . . It is well that teachers generally should awake to a sense of their power. Few classes of the community could exert more influence in a contested election than teachers, if they only choose to exert themselves."

forwarded to members of both Houses of Parliament and 435 M.P.s were seen by the officers and executive of the union or by representatives of local associations. The Educational Institute of Scotland sent a deputation to London for the express purpose of giving information to the Scottish M.P.s, and the Irish Teachers' Association used its influence with the Irish M.P.s. A large public meeting was held addressed by M.P.s and members of the London School Board. These efforts, combined with the active interest of Lords Lyttelton, Middleton and Cottesloe and J. Whitwell, M.P., were eventually successful. This was the first of the "agitations" or "campaigns", when for a few months the whole of the efforts of the union would be focused on a single issue. Besides deputations to M.P.s, public meetings would be held throughout the country and the Press would be flooded with letters. The focus of the campaign would be the handful of M.P.s whom the union was always able to find to ask questions or state its case in the Commons.

Gradually the parliamentary action of the union became organized. At the 1880 and 1885 elections, the local associations were requested by the executive to organize deputations to all parliamentary candidates. In 1888 steps were taken to strengthen and consolidate the influence of the union. A complete register was formed of the constituencies within the district of each local association, of their representatives in Parliament and of "prominent politicians" who were interested in educational matters. These "prominent politicians" were sent information on educational matters and it was hoped that they would act as a further pressure on M.P.s and prospective M.P.s. In 1890 "Parliamentary Registers" were prepared in which every promise made by a Member of Parliament was registered for future reference. Parliamentary correspondents were appointed in a large number of constituencies, to keep the executive fully informed as to any educational action taken in the constituency.

By 1891 the union had reached a position of some strength. It was able to obtain the "blocking" of Sir Richard Temple's Registration Bill and Sir Henry Roscoe's Bill for the Organization of Secondary Education and the amending of the Finance Bill of 1894. Relying on friendly M.P.s was not wholly satisfactory to

* For example, in the year 1888-9 they were sent papers on "Payment by Results" "Continuation Schools" and "Technical Instruction".

the leaders of the profession, and in 1877¹⁰ they had begun planning the election of "Teacher M.P.s".¹¹ In that year a resolution was passed at the N.U.E.T. conference in favour of obtaining direct representation in Parliament. Nothing was done by the executive to put the resolution into effect although an unsuccessful unofficial attempt was made by a group of teachers to raise £1000 to put forward a teachers' candidate at the 1880 election. The resolution was re-affirmed in 1881 and again in 1882 when it was referred to the executive for action. The executive reported that to secure the election of a teacher would involve increasing the union subscription by at least one shilling. They reported further "that the presence of an expert in the House would be of great service in initiating and guiding educational legislation, but that no candidate could successfully contest a constituency on other than political grounds." They were concerned with how far teachers would be content to contribute to the expenses and maintenance of a member on purely professional considerations when the member might differ from themselves in politics. That this concern was justified was shown by the fiasco of the attempt to get a teacher elected to Parliament in the 1885 election.

In March 1885 the executive announced that T. E. Heller and George Collins would stand as candidates at the coming election.¹² The announcement caused a flood of objections as George Collins was an Advanced Liberal and T. E. Heller an Independent Liberal. The Church and Conservative teachers objected strongly to union support of two Liberals and in order to satisfy them the executive elected Mr. Clarkson and one other Conservative candidate, and took steps to secure their adoption by suitable constituencies. They also adopted as candidates "worthy of the support of the union", Mr. Williams of Liverpool, and Mr. Marchant Williams of Finsbury. George Collins alone was

¹⁰ Although this aim is to be found as early as the foundation of the N.U.T.

¹¹ In 1874 the Labour Representation League had secured the return of the first two working-class candidates (members) to Parliament.

¹² "It was desired that neither party nor political considerations should be allowed to enter into the question, the only purpose the Union had in promoting the election of a practical teacher being to secure the parliamentary representation of practical education. The Executive therefore did not feel it their duty to consider the politics of any candidate who might be brought under their consideration, but only (1) to ascertain whether such candidate was possessed of a sufficient acquaintance with the work of schools to qualify him to be the representative of practical education, and (2) the probability of the candidate being able to command, on other considerations, the support of a constituency" (*N.U.E.T. Report 1886* p. xxvii).

adopted by a constituency, and during the election campaign feeling in the union mounted to such an extent that, as a church teacher declared, "the union is splitting on the parliamentary rock". Collins was defeated, but the introduction of party feeling into the union's affairs played some part in the drop of membership from 12,890 in 1884 to 11,082 in 1885.

At the 1886 conference an attack was launched on the executive for its actions during the election. The conference supported the executive by an overwhelming majority but refused (by 2917 votes) to vote for an increased subscription to finance direct representation. In 1887 the majority against had fallen to 1102 and in 1888 a resolution increasing the subscription by one shilling per member was carried by a large majority after an amendment had been defeated by 2279 votes. The political question still raised qualms in the minds of many members and the executive hoped "to secure at least two representatives of different political opinions, so that party contention may not be introduced into the union" The executive succeeded in getting the central organizations of both political parties to suggest constituencies to candidates approved by the union, and in February 1892 James Yoxall became Liberal candidate for the Bassetlaw Division. He was the only candidate to be sponsored by the union at the 1892 General Election, but he was defeated and so no political problem was raised.¹³

In January 1893 Mr. Ernest Gray was adopted as prospective Conservative candidate for North West Ham, and in November 1893 J. H. Yoxall was adopted as prospective Liberal candidate for the Northern Division of Nottingham. At the election of 1895 both Gray and Yoxall were elected to the House of Commons and "members of the union who were strong political partisans had the satisfaction of knowing that the vote of one was neutralized by the vote of the other on any purely party question".¹⁴

Immediately they were elected, Yoxall and Gray began pressing the views of the union in the House of Commons. They were both able, modest, unpretentious and gifted speakers who made immediate impressions on the House. While the other means of pressure were not neglected, the union was now assured that,

¹³ A group of Conservative teachers at Bassetlaw banded together to work for the return of Yoxall's Conservative opponent (*The Schoolmaster*, 2 April, 1892).

¹⁴ *N.U.T. Report*, 1896, pp. 1-11.

with two of its leaders in the House, its views on educational matters would not be overlooked.¹⁵

(3) *Exertion of pressure on the "employers"*

The formation of the school boards offered the teachers an opportunity of affecting the execution of educational policy. The teachers' periodicals urged individual teachers to put themselves forward as candidates for office. The main handicap to the election of teachers was that no teacher in a board school could be a member of the board under which he was serving and no teacher could attend board meetings during the time of school. In spite of this a handful of teachers were candidates at the first elections to the school boards. The Nottingham teachers, with their usual militancy, supported Mr. Thurlow, a national schoolmaster, canvassed for him, organized and addressed public meetings on his behalf and saw him elected near the top of the poll. In January 1874 T. E. Heller was elected to the London School Board. He soon became a conspicuous figure and exercised great influence on the work of the board.¹⁶ The movement for the election of teachers suffered a setback when the code of 1875 was issued. It contained a clause (15b) which forbade the election of any elementary teacher as a member or officer of any school board.¹⁷ Ex-teachers, including the important category of permanent officials of the N.U.E.T. and the "Metropolitan Board Teachers' Association", and private-school teachers were still eligible for election to school boards and many were in fact elected.

As in the union's parliamentary work, direct representation was accompanied by attempts to influence the attitudes and actions of non-teacher representatives. In every large town (where alone was it possible for the teachers to exercise influence) every candidate for election to the school board would be waited on by deputations of teachers and his attitude on salaries, liberty of classification, religious teaching and corporal punishment would be probed. By canvassing for votes and by their own use of the

¹⁵ *The Times*, writing of the Education Debate of 1895 declared that "perhaps the most remarkable feature in the discussion was the intervention of the two able representatives of the elementary school teachers who have found seats in the present parliament. The maiden speeches of Mr. Ernest Gray and Mr. Yoxall were modest, to the point and not overloaded with details." (Quoted in *The Schoolmaster* 31 August 1895).

¹⁶ Many nonconformist teachers objected to Heller's candidature (he stood as a Church candidate), and a split was only narrowly averted.

¹⁷ *B.P.P.*, 1875, LVIII, p. 4.

cumulative vote the teachers wielded a great deal of influence.¹⁸ One of the complaints made against the cumulative vote in school board elections was that it placed too much influence in the hands of minority groups (catholics, working men, women or teachers). But even on the London School Board, where the N.U.E.T. claimed to exercise most influence, only twelve ex-elementary teachers were ever elected.¹⁹

School board politics were even more bitter than national politics. Candidates stood not only for a political party but for a religious or social creed.²⁰ It was possible for a militant church majority to take control of a school board with the avowed intention of starving the board schools of money and reducing the salaries of board teachers.²¹ Even the most religious of teachers were opposed to this kind of educational politics and a good deal of antipathy grew up between the ultra-religious branch of the church and the N.U.T.

The most important clash between the teachers and the church occurred between 1893 and 1895. In 1893 a religious ("moderate") majority on the London School Board, led by the famous Rev. J. R. Diggle,²² issued a circular which in effect imposed theological tests at the appointment and during the employment of teachers. The N.U.T. and the Metropolitan Board Teachers' Association (M.B.T.A.) made private representations, which were ignored, and eventually 3130 London teachers refused to sign an agreement to give religious instruction under the terms of the new circular. The "circular" was one of the key issues of the 1894

¹⁸ See *B.P.P.*, 1884-5, XI. Report from the Select Committee on School Board Elections (Voting), §1267-9.

¹⁹ T. E. Heller, W. Roston Bourke, G. A. White, Henry Lynn, Edmund Barnes, George Collins, G. Benson Clough, T. J. Macnamara, J. C. Horobin, T. Gautrey, S. Creswell and one other.

Of these, seven were moderates and five progressives. See T. Gautrey, "*Lux Mihi Laus*", 1938, *passim*. G. A. Christian, *English Education from Within*, 1922, pp. 181-4.

²⁰ For example at the 1879 election of the London School Board there were candidates representing the Women, the Christian Education League, Liberal Union, Exeter Hall Working Mens' Association, Radical, Liberal and Conservative Clubs, Catholics, Church of England and the National Society.

²¹ An example of this hostility was the statement of Canon J. G. Cromwell, who was a member of the London School Board for six years, that he "thanked God he had never entered a board school" (see T. Gautrey, *op. cit.*, p. 54). It should be remembered that many churchmen were as opposed to this attitude as were the non-denominationalists, e.g. the work on the London School Board of the Rev. John Rodgers and the Rev. W. Rogers.

²² Chairman of the London School Board, 1885-34. See T. Gautrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-5, 105-7.

election and played an important part in the reduction of the moderate majority.

In general, the union left the local associations to negotiate with their own school boards and for the most part the relations between teachers and the larger school boards were good. In the 1890's, as the radical and labour movement intervened more effectively in local politics, the teachers' influence in school board affairs became more important. The smaller "five-man school boards" presented a completely different problem. In many instances the school board members were totally unfitted for their position and had been elected solely to keep the rates down. It was in the schools under such boards and in the rural church schools that we find cases of oppression, insecurity of tenure, degrading extraneous duties and low salaries. For dealing with these employers, the union had resort to three devices—legal action, the use of the "register" and the "capture" of the board.

As soon as the N.U.E.T. was formed, teachers commenced bringing forward individual "cases of oppression" for the executive to consider. It soon became necessary to lay individual cases before a solicitor, and by 1874 so many trivial disputes were being brought forward that the union had to refuse to accept cases except on the recommendation of a district union or local association. By 1880, over 750 "cases of difficulty" had been dealt with. Most of them had been settled out of court but some had been carried into the county courts and a few to the superior courts. In 1880 the Secretary wrote 134 letters of advice on cases submitted for his opinion, the Law committee dealt with fifty-four cases and the solicitor with thirty-six cases. The number of cases brought before the union continued to increase and in 1883 the union decided to set up a special "Legal Assistance and Sustentation Fund". As the union became more efficient in its legal work there was an increasing tendency for cases to be settled out of court. The mere knowledge that behind every union member stood the almost limitless legal resources of the union played an important part in the increase of membership from 1886 onwards.¹³

¹³ The cases brought before the union for advice or action fell into a few broad categories, i.e. (1) Defending teachers from charges arising out of the infliction of corporal punishment, (2) Actions for improper or illegal dismissal and claims for salary, (3) Assaults on teachers by parents or managers; (4) Libel or slander against teachers.

In 1891 the N.U.T. executive adopted a resolution:

"That the executive inform Mr. — that if dismissal follow on his refusal to perform the extraneous duties demanded, they will make a grant from the Sustentation Fund; and that the members of the Union be informed that any member accepting the situation vacated by Mr. — will be expelled from the Union."

The executive intended to use this procedure in dealing with the actions of employers, which, while "legal", were considered by the executive to be "morally indefensible". This procedure was still further developed in 1893 when a "Register of Schools" was opened which was to contain any particulars which might be obtained as to certain schools. The "Register" was designed "to supply members of the union with facts and circumstances other than those likely to be supplied by the school authorities". It became a powerful weapon in the hands of the executive. As a general rule, the information collected was reserved exclusively for union members but when it was in the interests of the member occupying the post, a "warning advertisement" would be placed in the educational press. It soon became a common occurrence for letters from managers to be received at the union offices, asking if their particular school was "on the Register", as the replies they were receiving to their advertisements were of so poor a character.²⁴

While the union gave general assistance to teacher candidates at school board elections by supplying speakers and pamphlets, there were instances when the whole force of the union was concentrated on the "capture" of a school board. The first attempt was made in 1893 when Mr. Tunncliffe, a master under the Wimblington School Board, was dismissed for reasons which had no connection with his professional work. At the triennial election of the board the union made an attempt to return a majority to the new board pledged to re-instate Mr. Tunncliffe. The attempt failed but similar attempts at Brighton and Cockermouth were completely successful. In both instances, an unjustly dismissed teacher was returned at the head of the poll and at Brighton the teacher (Mr. Baseden) was appointed to the chair at the first

²⁴ It is also noteworthy that appeals to the executive came not only from teachers but also from managers. In 1897, for example, a manager asked the intervention of the officials of the union in a case in which the teacher was a N.U.T. member against whom certain malpractices were alleged (*N.U.T. Report 1897*, p. lxxi).

meeting of the new board. An even more striking victory was won at Southampton in 1895. In 1893 a Miss Goodwin had been dismissed by the Southampton School Board for reporting to the executive of the N.U.T. the unsatisfactory way in which the schools in the locality were examined. The union decided to make Miss Goodwin suitable sustentation grants and supported her as a candidate at the school board elections. Union leaders addressed public meetings on her behalf, she was supported by local trade unions and was returned second on the poll. Together with her were returned a majority of members pledged to redress the injustice done to her. In January 1898 she resigned her board membership and was re-appointed to her original post. A different type of action was taken at Richmond where the N.U.T. built a new school for a wrongfully dismissed headmaster. The case ended unfortunately for the union as the headmaster appears to have been guilty of the offences for which he had originally been dismissed.

The "Social Position" of the Elementary Teacher

The social condition of the elementary teacher at the turn of the century was in a state of transition. It is still possible to find complaints of "social isolation" written in almost the same words as the complaints of the 1870's. Although there were less direct complaints of the low "social condition" of the profession, the status anxiety of the teachers can be detected in much of the writing of members of the profession and is a chief cause of much of the activity of the N.U.T. The hostile attitudes of many of the middle and upper classes towards the elementary teachers and their organization reinforced the status anxiety of the profession. The extent of this hostility should not be under-estimated.¹² The elementary teachers took the brunt of much of the diffuse attack directed by the old middle class against popular education, the social services, and the new white collar middle class. Certain

¹² *The School Guardian*, 13 October, 1891. "The position of our elementary teachers, especially in rural parishes, is for the most part not a little isolated. They occupy a unique place in society. Their higher education raises them above the labourers, and even the majority of farmers and small shopkeepers, and yet they are not generally the social equals of the clergy or the gentry."

¹³ In July 1903 Winston Churchill's bugbears were "Labour, N.U.T. and expenditure on elementary education or on the social services" (B. Webb, *Our Partnership*, 1948, p. 260).

themes in the attack on the teachers were already familiar in the 1840's and are found even at the present day. It was said that the teacher owed his position to the "charity" of others, that his hours of work were short and his holidays long. The teachers were made responsible for the universal degeneration of every generation of children compared to the one preceding. It was said that due to the low social class from which they were recruited they were uncultured, narrow and foolishly conceited.¹⁷ Many of the suggestions for recruiting the profession more freely from the middle classes were due less to a desire to raise the standards of the profession than to a feeling that such eligible posts should not go to working-class children and that such a strategic profession could become a political danger if recruited from the working class.¹⁸

An even more bitter attack was launched against the NUT. It was said that the teachers as "public servants" had no right to any opinions of their own on educational politics, that the NUT was a Trade Union of the worst kind, concerned only with the selfish interests of its members and using unfair means to advance these interests. There were recurrent fears of the "teacher army" and complaints that the NUT had grown too powerful for the welfare of the country. *The Times* in 1885 called the NUT "a Frankenstein's monster which has suddenly grown into full life"¹⁹. There were some, who, while friendly to the teachers,

¹⁷ *Quarterly Review*, 1879. "This ignorance on the part of teachers as to their position and as to their relations to the country is a point about which no reticence need be shown. They must distinctly understand that their office is not one which calls for any special abilities. Pretensions such as the certificated teacher sometimes puts forth must be crushed and checked without mercy" (see also *The Schoolmaster*, 15 February 1879).

¹⁸ *Fortnightly Review*, May 1899. "The Teacher Problem" by Harold Hodge. "The elementary school teacher is not likely to be a person of superior type. He is, in truth, a small middle-class person with all the usual intellectual restrictions of his class. He is, in other words, unintellectual, knowing hardly anything well, parochial in sympathies, vulgar in the accent and style of his talking, with a low standard of manners. He is withal extremely respectable, correct morally, with a high sense of duty as he understands it, and competent in the technique of his calling. What we want is educated ladies and gentlemen as teachers."

¹⁹ These are only two out of a mass of attacks on the teachers.

²⁰ "The Socialist leaders already perceive what a splendid field the elementary schools afford for their peculiar propaganda. What better career can they offer to their sons and daughters than to enter the teaching profession and in a discreet way play the socialist missionary? . . . (The middle class should) supply teachers of their own class, men and women free from the bias and the envy of a narrow upbringing" (W. R. Lawson, *John Bull and his Schools*, 1908).

²¹ *The Schoolmaster*, 10 April, 1880.

considered that the N.U.T. was devoting too much time to educational politics and too little to "professional improvements". H.M.I. J. G. Fitch gave evidence before the Cross Commission on this point,³⁰ but the Commission stated:

"In justice to the teachers, that the alleged decay of professional enthusiasm, and the fact that less time is now devoted by teachers' associations to educational questions, are attributed by the teachers themselves to the unfavourable conditions under which elementary education is stated by them to be at present carried on"

An anonymous writer in *The Citizen* gave the case both against and for the union when he wrote

"Some observers resent its (the N.U.T.'s) activities, dub it a trade union, and charge it with narrowness and party spirit. But, whatever may be the dangers of the situation, there is no doubt that the position which the union now enjoys has been earned by unceasing effort and devoted labour. To it, and almost to it alone, the country owes the destruction of vicious theories about state interference with the work of the elementary schools which were rampant twenty years ago, and are still cherished in a shocking kind of a way by many people who ought to know better. But victories of this kind are not bought for nothing. Fighters have not the virtues of students, and are apt, indeed, to lose perceptions which are necessary to the most far-seeing statesmanship. 'Every country,' says the proverb, 'has the foe it deserves' and when a critic dwells on the failings of the N.U.T., it is well to remind him of the kind of policy against which the Union had so long to protest."

The hostility of a large section of the middle classes towards the elementary teachers and their union, the feeling that the social mobility of the individual teacher had come up against "caste lines", and the very real frustrations the teachers experienced in their work due to the gap between what their training and consciences told them "could be" and the actual state of the schools—all these were forcing the teachers into co-operation with the radicals and the working class movement. In spite of the strong Conservative and Church element in the union, in spite of the desire of the individual teacher to be accepted in the terms of the

³⁰ B.P.P., 1887, XXX, 85-86, 70.

³¹ B.P.P., 1888, XXXV, p. 79, 80.

³² *The Citizen*, March 1897.

existing society (i.e. achieve professional status and culture) and in spite of the hostility between the "respectable" white-collar worker and the manual worker there was an increasing rapprochement between the N.U.T. and working-class associations.²³

To analyse the social position of the teacher at the turn of the century solely in terms of isolation, anxiety and hostility is to ignore a secular trend of much greater significance. The elementary teachers, in common with the rest of the "suburban and professional people", were rising in status and influence in the social structure. C. F. G. Masterman in his skilful analysis of English social structure in 1909 wrote.

"It would seem that it is from the suburban and professional people we must more and more demand a supply of men and women of capacity and energy adequate to the work of the world. . . Embedded in them are whole new societies created by legislation and national demand . . . whose future is full of promise. Here is, for example, the new type of elementary teacher—a figure practically unknown forty years ago—drawn in part from the tradesmen and the more ambitious artisan population, and now, lately, in a second generation, from its own homes. It is exhibiting a continuous rise of standard, keen ambitions, a respect for intellectual things which is often absent in the population amongst which it resides. Its members are not only doing their own work efficiently, but are everywhere taking the lead in public and quasi-public activities. They appear as the mainstay of the political machine in suburban districts, serving upon the municipal bodies, in work, clear-headed and efficient, the leaders in the churches and chapels, and their various social organizations. They are taking up the position in the urban districts which for many generations was occupied by the country clergy in the rural districts, providing centres with other standards than those of monetary success, and raising families who exhibit sometimes vigour of character, sometimes unusual intellectual talent. A quite remarkable proportion of the children of elementary schoolmasters is now knocking at the doors of the older Universities, clamouring for admittance, and those who effect entrance are often carrying off the highest honours. This process is only in its beginning, every year the standard improves, these 'servants of the State' have assured to them a noteworthy and honourable future."²⁴

²³ In 1895 the conference of the N.U.T. had rejected a vote to affiliate to the T.U.C. by 9721 votes to 4911 (*The Schoolmaster*, 20 April, 1895). In 1897 the N.U.T. conference passed a resolution, by a large majority, to send £150 to help the striking Penrhyn quarrymen (*The Schoolmaster*, 27 March, 1897). In several areas district associations attempted to work with trades councils (*The Schoolmaster*, 4 February, 22 July, 1893, 12 August, 1911).

²⁴ C. F. G. Masterman, *The Condition of England*, 1909, pp. 83-4.

Developments Within the Union

By the end of the 1890's the N.U.T. had reached an extremely strong position. Its membership had risen from 16,100 in 1890 to 43,621 in 1900. In 1900 the union had three "representatives" in the House of Commons.¹ It had developed its legal work and "teacher politics" to a high degree of efficiency, and, although many of its aims had not been achieved or only partially achieved, it had several substantial victories to its credit. While details of the organization of the union are not the concern of this study, there are two features which need to be examined if we are to understand union policy in the 1890's. The first is the changed leadership of the union in the early 1890's and the second the growth of informal and formal pressure groups inside the profession.

For the first twenty years of its existence the union was led by the "founding fathers" or the "old guard". The President was generally elected from among the executive which changed very little from 1870 to 1890. The executive was closely connected with the private company owning *The Schoolmaster* and with the profitable "London Scholastic Trading Company Limited". There had been some protests against the ruling group. In 1881 an "advanced party" was formed inside the union by a group of London board teachers led by David Salmon, H. Maidment, Clark and Clough. Their aim was to strengthen the union and promote the more rapid attainment of its objects. They were very much in evidence at the 1881 conference, but only succeeded in electing one new member to the executive and by 1882 little was heard of them. Part of the reason for their failure was the hostility towards London teachers (and in particular London board teachers), of the rural and provincial teachers. In 1882 the provincial teachers made a *coup d'état* and wrested control of the union from the London teachers, but the new régime accomplished nothing new and control returned to the "founding fathers" in 1883. It was they who took the decisions to raise subscriptions, attack over-pressure, extend the legal side of the union's work and seek parliamentary representation. After a frightening fall in membership, by 1886 the union was once more growing in numbers. In 1886 and 1887 the ageing executive began

¹ Yoxall and Gray had been joined by T. J. Macnamara (a Liberal) in 1900.

to split over religious questions which were coming to the fore in educational controversy. This split increasingly inhibited it in the performance of its functions.

It was in this crisis that a new group emerged inside the union who christened themselves the "Indefatigables". They were led by J. H. Yoxall³⁶ and T. J. Macnamara³⁷ who seem to have begun working together in January 1887. They launched a series of attacks on the executive for dissension and "shilly-shally" and, although they did not stand for election themselves, played an important part in the election of five new members to the executive in 1888. They were much more than passive critics of the executive and devoted themselves to enlarging the membership of the union. J. H. Yoxall was elected to the executive with a large number of votes in 1889 (although he failed to gain the presidency) and T. J. Macnamara in 1890. In 1891 Yoxall was elected to the presidency and in 1892 he succeeded T. E. Heller as General Secretary. In 1892 also T. J. Macnamara became Editor of *The Schoolmaster* and the victory of the "Indefatigables" was complete. By 1894 the executive consisted of six "old guard from the 1870's", eight "surviving stalwarts from the 1880's", and fourteen "young bloods of the 1890's".³⁸

³⁶ J. H. Yoxall (1857-1925) was a pupil-teacher and attended Westminster Training College. While at college, he came under the personal influence of Matthew Arnold. He taught at Shetheld. In 1888, he founded the "Symposium of the Indefatigables" with Macnamara. Elected to the executive in 1889, he became Vice-President in 1891 and General Secretary in 1892. He built up membership from 23,209 in 1892 to 112,030 in 1924. In 1895 he was elected to Parliament as Member for West Nottingham (Liberal) and retained his seat until he retired in 1915. He was knighted in 1909. He was a Royal Commissioner on the Bryce Commission.

Yoxall was an educated and cultured gentleman. He favoured a militant union policy but resisted closer relations with the trade union movement.

He retired in 1924 and died in the following year.

³⁷ T. J. Macnamara (1861-1931) was a pupil-teacher and then attended Borough Road Training College. He taught at Bristol. Elected to the executive in 1890, he became editor of *The Schoolmaster* in 1892 and Vice-President in 1895. Although a radical liberal he supported compromise in educational politics. In 1900, he was elected to Parliament and retained his seat until 1924. In 1907, he became Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board and relinquished all his union offices. Later, he became Financial Secretary to the Admiralty, and from 1920 to 1922 was Minister of Labour. Macnamara was a brilliant and powerful speaker and writer.

³⁸ *The Schoolmaster*, 31 March, 1894.

Other breakdowns are:

- (1) Thirteen Metropolitan teachers, eleven Provincial town teachers, four rural teachers.
- (2) Eleven board teachers, twelve voluntary teachers, five not at work in primary schools.
- (3) Twenty-five head teachers, three assistant teachers.

In the late 1880's it is possible to observe the growth of informal pressure groups inside the N.U.T. which in the early 1890's crystallize into definite internal or external associations. As early as October 1887 an editorial in *The Schoolmaster* warned its readers that "there are organized movements at work with the object of splitting the union up into sections".³⁹ These sections were formed from certificated elementary teachers and must be distinguished from the completely separate associations of the secondary and public school teachers.

The two most dangerous potential cleavages were those between teachers in voluntary schools and teachers in board schools and between teachers belonging to the Church of England and teachers belonging to the dissenting denominations. These two cleavages were associated, but not identical, as many board school teachers had received their training in church colleges and were loyal to the church. The division was due firstly, to the desire of many voluntary school teachers that their schools (and incidentally themselves) should receive increased grants from the national exchequer even at the expense of the board school teachers, and secondly, to the general conflict between church-conservatives and dissenter-liberals on the future of the dual system.

The foundation of the N.U.E.T. had not put an end to the denominational organizations of teachers. In some instances, these were even strengthened by the advent of the N.U.E.T. as it enabled them to devote their meetings to denominational matters. As the N.U.E.T. began to organize itself into non-denominational district associations, the denominational associations either disbanded or else withdrew from the union. In 1873, for example, the London Wesleyan Teachers' Association and the London British Teachers' Association left the N.U.E.T. and devoted themselves to strictly denominational matters. In the same year the London Association of Church Teachers also withdrew and became the London Association of Church Managers and Teachers. It was in 1873 also that the "General Association of Church Managers and Teachers" was founded.⁴⁰ While the

³⁹ *The Schoolmaster*, 8 October, 1887. The particular sections mentioned are rural, assistant, northern and board teachers.

⁴⁰ The objects of the association were.

(a) The maintenance of religious teaching in church schools and church training colleges, and the securing to managers and

"General Association" was definitely a church association, the teachers insisted on having half the representatives on the executive committee. Many of the early leaders of the N.U.E.T. were also members of the General Association which tended to support the union in all professional matters.

Until 1888 the dual system "was but a cursory and intermittent subject of debate within the union"⁴¹ but as the conflict deepened in the country outside, splits began to develop inside the union. In 1889 the London teachers took the lead in forming the "Metropolitan Voluntary Teachers' Association". They had been spurred into activity by the example of the militant and influential "Metropolitan Board Teachers' Association" and by the disquiet felt by voluntary teachers of all denominations at Heller's signature of the Minority Report of the Cross Commission. The association was not a breakaway movement, but aimed at independent propaganda and "capturing" the N.U.T. It included all voluntary teachers and published a periodical, *The Voluntary Teacher* (later *The School Times*). From 1890 onwards, its activities became increasingly opposed to the activities of the N.U.T. It campaigned against the N.U.T. on the "religious circular" question at the 1894 London School Board election. Its attack on the N.U.T. executive became increasingly vitriolic and the executive replied in kind. In 1893 the Metropolitan Voluntary Teachers' Association began recruiting members throughout the country and in February 1895 the "National Association of Voluntary Teachers" was formed with Fred Jago as General Secretary and with the aim of capturing the N.U.T. The N.A.V.T. had, however, overstated its position and by the extravagance of its statements and its seeming willingness to subordinate the interests of the teachers to the claims of the church, had failed to gain the support of the mass of the voluntary teachers. It ran lists for the N.U.T. executive, supported the

teachers a voice in determining the course of instruction and the system of examination.

- (b) The due recognition of the office and position of church school teachers, as such, by the Church.
- (c) The protection of pecuniary and other interests of teachers and managers.
- (d) General conferences.

"Sectarian rivalry was, however, always near the surface. The years from 1878 to 1880 saw the union threatened by events stemming from the "Earls Barton" case when the executive (and in particular Heller and Graves) were accused of taking the Church's part in a dispute with a school board.

• See *The Schoolmaster*, September 1878-April 1880.

1896 Education Bill against the decision of the N.U.T. and held special conferences, but it had mainly nuisance value. The battle shifted to inside the N.U.T. Vicious letters were exchanged in *The Schoolmaster* and vicious speeches were made in the executive, the local associations and the annual conference. Conferences and executive meetings became increasingly muddled and bad-tempered. Faced with this danger to the unity of the profession, two men set themselves to seek a policy which would be broadly agreeable to both sides. T. J. Macnamara (a Radical Liberal) and Ernest Gray⁴² (a moderate Conservative) faced personal misunderstanding and much vilification from both sides in their desire to find a compromise solution which would maintain the union intact. This effort was eventually successful and in spite of the bitterness and misrepresentation, the membership of the union continued to increase. The N.A.V.T. continued to campaign separately, although it suffered losses in membership when the N.U.T. set up a loyal "National Federation of Voluntary School Teachers" inside the union. After the 1902 Education Act its membership narrowed down to London and it dissolved in 1905 when its members joined the "London Teachers' Association". Between 1906 and 1908 the religious controversies over the series of abortive education Bills led to the formation of a "National Council of Church School Teachers" which attempted to act as a pressure group inside the N.U.T. but with little success.

While the religious cleavage was by far the most significant, there were four other cleavages which were important in the 1890's and the first ten years of the twentieth century. They were the cleavages between the head teachers and the assistant or class teachers, between the collegiate and the non-collegiate certificated teachers, between men and women teachers and between rural and urban teachers. The first cleavage to develop was that

⁴² Ernest Gray (1857-1932) was the third of the great triumvirate of Yoxall, Macnamara and Gray who remoulded the union. He had been a pupil-teacher and trained at Battersea Training College. He taught in Westminster. He was not an "indefatigable", although he sympathized with their aims. Elected to the executive in 1888, he became Vice-President in 1893 and Secretary to the Education Committee 1895-1925. He was an M.P. 1895-1906 and 1918-22, and a member of the L.C.C. 1907-25, being Vice-Chairman of that body 1915-16. He was knighted in 1925.

A moderate Conservative, where children were concerned he was a passionate reformer. In Parliament, he worked in close co-operation with Yoxall, had a great influence on the 1902 Act and fought the "Geddes Axe" with all his strength. In London, he pioneered Central and Open Air Schools. He resigned from his union posts in 1925.

between the head teachers and the assistant teachers. In the 1870's and 1880's every assistant teacher could look forward to rapid promotion to head teacher;⁴³ but "when the multiplication of schools slackened, and those in the densely populated centres grew in size, so that a single head teacher found himself in command of a staff of a dozen or even a score of class teachers, it became evident that a majority of the assistants would remain in that position throughout their whole careers. Meanwhile the administration of the N.U.T. continued naturally to be directed by the more prominent of its members, who were nearly always head teachers."⁴⁴ In 1887 and 1888 the grumbles of the assistants increased and they formed separate associations. By 1889 there were five assistants' associations, and in January 1892 the first national conference of class teachers was held at Sheffield. Salaries and corporal punishment regulations were discussed and four class teachers were adopted as candidates for the N.U.T. executive. The "National Federation of Class Teachers" (often referred to as the "National Federation of Assistant Teachers") had a great deal of success in its campaign and from its foundation onwards the opinions of the class teachers were well represented in the formulation of N.U.T. policy. In 1900 and in 1902 assistant teachers were presidents of the N.U.T. and many of the executive were assistant teachers. Besides their particular grievances of salary and promotion, the organized assistant teachers have tended to be more militant, left-wing and trade-union minded than the mass of the teachers. The separate organization of the assistant teachers led, in 1897, to the formation of the "National Federation of Head Teachers' Associations" (later the "National Association of Head Teachers").⁴⁵ The organization was too small to be an effective pressure group inside the N.U.T. but functioned mainly as a discussion group which applied informal pressure to local education authorities on matters affecting head teachers. While the division between the "Heads" and the "Assistants"

⁴³ Although there are complaints from assistants of small salaries and lack of opportunity for promotion as early as 1874 (e.g. *The Schoolmaster*, 4 April, 1874).

⁴⁴ B. Webb, *The New Statesman*, Special Supplement, 25 September, 1915, p. 6.

⁴⁵ See *The First Fifty Years: Jubilee Volume of the National Association of Head Teachers*, 1947.

The London head teachers had founded the "London Head Teachers' Association" in 1888. See *The London Head Teachers' Association, 1888-1938*, 1938, pp. 17-43.

roused a good deal of heat, it was never in any danger of breaking the union.

The second cleavage was of far less importance. As we have seen, an increasing number of certificated teachers had taken their certificates by private study. These "non-collegiate certificated teachers" or "independently trained teachers" complained that they suffered from certain disabilities in comparison with teachers who had been through a training college. The department and the larger school boards discriminated against them in their regulations, promotion was more difficult and their salaries were lower. Although the N.U.T. took up their case strongly they still felt the need for a separate organization. In 1890 they formed an "Independently Trained Association" and in 1899 a "National Association of Non-Collegiate Certificated Teachers". With the increase in college accommodation after the 1902 Act, the untrained certificated teachers formed a diminishing section of the profession. As late as 1914, however, the N.U.T. was defending them against discriminating regulations, while their own national association reminded the N.U.T. of their existence.

The third cleavage was to prove of the most importance in the latter part of the period and has continued to weaken the profession. Down to the end of the nineteenth century the women teachers seem to have been prepared to allow the men teachers to monopolize the leadership of the N.U.T. They accepted without any recorded complaint the lower scales of salaries and the lesser opportunities for promotion. They were less inclined to join the N.U.T. and played little part in the running of the union.⁴⁶ There were scattered associations of women teachers in the 1880's⁴⁷ but it was not until after 1900 that we find springing up various sectional organizations of women teachers for the purpose of levelling up the status of women teachers to that of men teachers or of capturing the N.U.T. for the suffrage movement. Among these were the "National Federation of Women Teachers" and the "L.C.C. Mistresses' Union" which acted as pressure groups inside the N.U.T. and the "Women Teachers' Franchise Union", "Equal Pay League" and the "Women's Social and Political

⁴⁶ For example, in 1895, 81 per cent of the male certificated teachers were members of the N.U.T. and only 35 per cent of the female certificated teachers. The first woman president of the N.U.T. took office in 1911.

⁴⁷ *The School Guardian*, 2 February, 1884 mentions the "Metropolitan Board Mistresses' Association" (founded 1881) and the "Association of Married Mistresses".

Union" which campaigned outside the N.U.T. In 1909 the "Women Teachers' Franchise Union" and the London Unit of the "National Federation of Women Teachers" broke away from the N.U.T. to form the "National Union of Women Teachers". Inside the N.U.T. women teachers gained in influence⁴ and after several unsuccessful attempts succeeded in adding "equal pay" to the aims of the N.U.T. in 1919. The results of this success will be taken up in later chapters.

The last cleavage, that between rural and urban teachers, arose out of the feeling of the rural teachers that their particular problems (extraneous duties, insecurity of tenure, low salaries) were being ignored by the executive and that there was a need for more rural teachers on the executive and committees of the union. In July 1890 a "Confederation of Rural Teachers' Associations" was established inside the N.U.T. to agitate for increased representation

Besides these "organized" pressure groups, there were various animosities and informal pressure groups. The most important jealousies were those between the London teachers⁵ and the provincial teachers, between the infant teachers and the senior teachers, between teachers with first-class certificates and those with third-class certificates, and between graduates and non-graduates. There were separate associations of assistants and heads (or principals) of higher-grade schools, central schools, evening schools, manual schools, half-time schools, special schools, technical institutes and training colleges. There were associations of uncertificated teachers, married women teachers, unemployed teachers and inspectors. There were subject associations, political associations and religious associations. Some of these sectional groupings were obviously allied, e.g. class teachers and urban teachers, infant teachers and non-collegiate certificated teachers in the early days. The general trend until the late 1930's was for the class teachers and women teachers to gain power at the expense of the head teachers and men teachers.

⁴ In 1910 women were Presidents of the N.F.A.T. and the Lancashire County Association of the N.U.T. and Vice-Presidents of the N.U.T. and L.T.A. (*The Schoolmaster*, 10 December, 1910).

⁵ While there was a London association of the N.U.T. the majority of the London teachers were members of the separate "Metropolitan Board Teachers' Association" (established 1872, and after 1903 the "London Teachers' Association"). While it worked in the closest co-operation with the N.U.T. (and in certain periods dominated the N.U.T.) it maintained an independent existence until 1922.

Beatrice Webb has written of these sectional organizations that "in so far as they correspond with a genuine differentiation among the membership (they) may have been necessary, if the union was to continue all embracing. But such internal sectional developments have certain harmful results. They distract the energy, which might otherwise be given to the advancement of the interests of the N.U.T. or of the profession as a whole to internal intrigue."⁸⁰ Of equal importance, they distracted the energies of the leaders of the profession in the educational crisis from 1896 to 1903. One cannot but sympathize with the leaders of the N.U.T. in their devoted but thankless task of maintaining the union intact. The number of latent sectional antagonisms to be watched and controlled seem almost infinite. If the N.U.T. is among the most democratic of all large unions it is partly because any grievance among any section of its members will almost automatically bring forth a "National Association" of sufferers from that grievance with a periodical publication and an annual conference. In minimizing the number and size of such associations, the officials tend by and large to obey the will of the majority of the members.

B. Webb, *op. cit.*

CHAPTER TEN

THE TEACHERS AND THE EDUCATION ACT OF 1902

"We do not long for the extinction of the voluntary school; neither do we consider the board school an invention of the devil. We rejoice in the extension of a system of schools under elected control, but we wish concurrently to maintain every efficient volunteer agency. It is against the inefficient agencies of either kind against the improper management of either kind of school that we take up our parable. In dealing with this subject we are not theological, we are not political—we are only educational."

J. H. Yoxall¹

By 1890 it was clear that events were shaping towards a further great measure of educational legislation.² The three needs of the time were, firstly, to provide some form of financial assistance for the hard-pressed voluntary schools, secondly, to resolve the chaos of secondary education and thirdly, to raise the standards of education and training of the teaching profession both elementary and secondary. While these "needs" were obvious to all interested in education, any attempt to meet them came up against fierce sectional antagonisms—religious, social, political and professional. These sectional antagonisms prevented any effective legislation from passing through Parliament until 1902.

Aid to the Voluntary Schools

While the tendency in contemporary writing is to emphasize the contribution of the 1902 Act to the growth of secondary education, the issue which raised the most violent emotions at the time was whether further aid should be given to the voluntary schools and if so on what terms it should be given. G. A. N. Lowndes has summarized the state of the voluntary schools very clearly.

¹ *N.U.T. Report, 1892, Presidential Address*, p. xxiv.

² The Act of 1902 still awaits its historian. The most useful account of the forces operating in the moulding of the Act is in Elie Halévy, *A History of the English People, Epilogue*, vol. I, 1895-1905, Book II, 1926, Chapter I.

"The voluntary schools . . . numbered over 14,000 and contained more than half the school population. In at least 8500 districts, too, the parent had no choice at all. The law compelled him to send his child to the denominational school. . . . However devoted the teachers, the voluntary schools could very rarely offer anything comparable to the strictly educational advantages of the rate-fed board schools. Their premises and equipment were inferior their teaching staff less well qualified; their income from subscriptions, although double that raised in 1870, only equivalent to 1 s. 5d. a child plus a special aid grant of 5s. as compared with the 25s. 6d. per board school child contributed by the rates. . . . It was clear that the voluntary schools must either be ended or mended."

Generally speaking, the Anglicans, supported by the Conservative Party, wished to "mend" the voluntary schools whilst the nonconformists, supported by the Liberal Party, wished to "end" them.¹ The Anglicans complained that the heavy financial burden of supporting their schools was becoming too much for them to bear. In the unequal contest with the rate-fed schools they felt that the voluntary schools (and with them the Anglican church) were slowly losing ground. They asked for increased grants from the State or from the local rates. They suggested that the government "should take on itself the duty of maintaining the entire staff of teachers." They complained that as the supporters of denominational schools were compelled to contribute their share of the rates levied for educational purposes, they were, in justice, entitled to participate in the distribution of them. The nonconformists, for their part, were completely opposed to any extension of financial aid to the church schools which would end the "tyranny of the parson" in the country district.

Closely allied with the two religious parties were the two political parties. The Conservative Party was bitterly opposed to the school boards and the Cecils (Lord Robert Cecil and Evelyn Cecil) led a virulent campaign against them. It was easy enough to find evidence against the smaller school boards, but it is clear that the main campaign of the Cecils was directed against the larger school boards with their "progressive" majorities. These boards (and in particular the London School Board) were hated for their "extravagance" and "waste", their supposed "atheism"

¹ G. A. N. Lowndes, *The Silent Social Revolution*, 1937, p. 71.

² Some reformers (e.g. the Webbs) who were neither Anglicans nor Conservatives, supported the 1902 Act because they considered that the religious controversy was of little importance compared with the need for immediate comprehensive legislation.

and perhaps most of all for their tendency to push upwards into the field of secondary education.

The Problem of Secondary Education⁵

We have seen in earlier chapters how, in the mid-nineteenth century, the provision of elementary education for the poor was looked upon as a threat to the interests of the middle-class child. We have also seen how numerous attempts were made to put "middle-class" education in order.⁶ Finally, we have seen that among the pressures leading to the Revised Code was the desire to prevent the "over-education" of the poor. With the gradual lifting of the Revised Code the "danger" had returned. There was an increasing tendency for children to stay longer at elementary school (especially the children of the "respectable" working class). By 1895 there were over a quarter of a million children over thirteen years of age in the elementary schools. Every year an increasing number of children worked through the seven standards of the code and were found to be capable, where the necessary equipment existed, of earning for the school the grants made available by the Science and Art Department. The more enterprising school boards, imitating those of Scotland, applied the principle of concentration (already applied to pupil-teachers) and formed schools of science or higher grade schools. These schools were staffed by certificated teachers (in many instances graduates) and provided in 1895 a technical or commercial education to 24,584 scholars.⁷

While the elementary school system was pressing upwards, the condition of the secondary school system was still chaotic. The public schools had been "saved and made respectable by a galaxy of strong headmasters and rendered accessible by the development of the railways". The process of rescue of the grammar schools had been begun by the Endowed Schools Commission and continued by the County Councils (the dispensers of "Whisky

⁵ For a detailed treatment of secondary education see O. Banks, *Parity and Prestige in English Secondary Education*, 1955.

⁶ e.g. "At a numerously attended and highly influential meeting held on Saturday, 8 June, 1861, in St. James Hall, the Archbishop of Canterbury proposed: "That considering the growth of intelligence among the lower classes, owing to the impulse given of late years to education, the establishment of public boarding schools for the education of the lower middle classes, which may be cheap and self-supporting, is of great national importance" (*English Journal of Education*, July 1861).

⁷ G. A. N. Lowndes, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-4.

Money"). But by 1895 "apart from those pupils in attendance at certain of the specially favoured schools, usually those in the large towns, probably not more than 30,000 out of a total attendance of 75,000 were as yet receiving an education which would be recognized either in point of quality or length of school life as a sound secondary education today".*

There can be no doubt that a large part of the opposition to the higher grade schools proceeded from those who feared their competition or the competition of their working-class pupils. There were, however, two other factors at work. In the first place, there was the growing realization of the need to modernize the English arrangements for secondary and technical instruction. The pressure of German competition and the influence of German philosophy had both had their effects. The pre-requisite for any modernization was to resolve the chaos which prevailed in every branch of the educational system. But who was to organize secondary education? Should it be organized by a completely independent authority or should both elementary and secondary education be controlled by the same authority? In the latter case should the authority be the school board, the County Council, a composite board, or an independent *ad hoc* authority?

In the second place what exactly was "secondary" education? Was it simply the education appropriate to the existing middle class or was it an education above that which was given in the elementary schools? If it was the latter what should be its nature and on what terms should it be available to the children of the working classes? It was said by many educational reformers that the instruction given in higher grade schools and pupil-teacher centres, while efficient within its limits, was deficient in many of the real elements of education. It was said that they confined themselves to cramming their pupils for examinations to the almost complete neglect of their health, their social accomplishments and their general education. Thus, many educational reformers who sincerely desired that educational opportunities should be available to the worker's child believed that this should be done by the closing down of the separate "working-class secondary schools" and the bringing of their pupils into the "middle-class secondary schools". Whilst it would obviously be necessary to open many new secondary schools, these schools

* G. A. N. Lowndes, *op cit*, p. 55

should share the traditions of the older secondary schools and their staffs should be recruited from teachers trained in the secondary tradition. As against this, there were those who either refused to accept the superiority of the education given in the older secondary schools or else accepted the Bryce Commission's Report that "higher grade elementary schools must be regarded as agencies which supply a widely felt need without overstepping the fair limits of a province which they have legitimately and usefully made their own".⁹

Changes in Recruitment and Training

During the thirty years after the 1870 Act, important changes occurred in the training of both the pupil-teachers and of the students in the training colleges. Soon after the 1870 Act we find the introduction of central classes for pupil-teachers, whereby instead of, or in addition to, receiving instruction from their own head teachers, they were brought together from time to time for collective instruction by teachers especially selected for the purpose. The movement was hampered at first by the regulations of the Education Department, but in 1880 the code was altered to allow the instruction of pupil-teachers by any certificated teacher, instead of a certificated teacher of the school in which the pupil-teacher served. In the 1880's and 1890's the "centre" system spread to all the large towns in the country and the superiority of the pupils of such centres was obvious by the high position they were taking in the Queen's Scholarship lists.

The evidence before the Cross Commission and the two main reports showed great differences of opinion on the future of the pupil-teacher system. Dr. Crosskey, for example, called it "at once, the cheapest and the very worst possible system of supply . . . it should be abolished root and branch", while Mr. Hance declared that, "this country must always look to the pupil-teachers as being on the whole the best as well as the main source of the supply of certificated teachers". The majority report stated that, "having regard to moral qualifications, there is no other available or . . . equally trustworthy source from which an adequate supply of teachers is likely to be forthcoming; and with modifications, tending to the improvement of their education, the apprenticeship of pupil-teachers, we think ought to be upheld". The minority.

⁹ See O. Banks, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-19.

report strongly dissented from this proposition and was of the opinion "that the moral securities we should look for in our future teachers are not likely to be diminished, but on the contrary greatly increased by a wider course and a prolonged period of preliminary education before students are trusted with the management of classes".

On the value of the centre system the Commissioners also disagreed strongly, the majority approving of the system with reservations, the minority accepting it completely. By 1902, central classes had become the ordinary method of instructing pupil-teachers in urban areas. In that year 17,000 out of the total number of 32,000 pupil-teachers and probationers¹⁰ were receiving some part of their instruction in centres during the daytime. However, out of the first 100 successful candidates in the King's Scholarship examination of 1902 as many as ninety-one had been instructed in large centres. At Scarborough and other places steps had been taken to render secondary schools available for the instruction of pupil-teachers and the *Report of the Departmental Committee on the Pupil-Teacher System* of 1898 had recommended that all intending teachers should pass through a secondary school for the completion of their ordinary education. The committee cordially recognized the improvements brought about by the centres, but added the opinion that

"many of them are merely classes brought together for the purposes of 'cram'. It is inevitable that they should tend to produce professional and social narrowness of aim, and to subordinate educational aims to pressure of examinations . . . In many cases the scanty staff is imperfectly qualified and narrowly trained, though, if it is admitted to be desirable for pupil-teachers to pass through secondary schools, it is even more important that those who instruct them should have had ample means for securing a liberal education."

The ideal held by many educationists of the time was the complete integration of the training of future elementary teachers with the secondary education system. Not only was it intended that all future elementary teachers should have profited by a secondary education, but also it was hoped that elementary teachers would be recruited much more freely from the middle classes. The Departmental Committee "looked forward with

* "Probationers were recognized from thirteen to sixteen, pupil-teachers from fifteen (fourteen in rural schools) to nineteen.

See B.P.P., 1907, LXIV, pp. 10-11.

confidence to the use of secondary schools as the best means of overcoming that narrowness of intellectual and professional outlook which had long been felt to be one of the weakest points of the profession, and which, it can hardly be doubted, was largely due to the inhuman and deadening influences under which generations of pupil-teachers had been educated". However, before any systematic or widespread use could be made of secondary schools for training future teachers, there was need for both some sort of organization of the chaotic system of higher education and for further financial aid to voluntary schools which would enable them to dispense with pupil-teachers and employ certificated teachers.

Changes had also occurred in the training colleges. The Revised Code and its aftermath had cramped and confined the training college syllabus and work had deteriorated into the cramming of students with the basic minimum of information necessary for the certificate examination and the examinations held by the Science and Art Department. The lecturers were usually "elementary teachers, sometimes appointed immediately on the completion of their two years' course of training" and the students were in an "unsatisfactory and uneducated state . . . when they entered into training". Poverty and bleakness characterized the surroundings in which the students were trained and the general disciplinary tone was that of a somewhat inferior boarding school. Of the teachers trained by such a system, Rich has written:

"(they) went out into the schools with a sound technique of managing large numbers of children, with an acquaintance with a few 'methods' of teaching various subjects, with a mass of undigested miscellaneous knowledge, and no ideas at all on the general significance of education, and the true principles underlying it".¹¹

This does not seem to me to represent the whole truth of the matter. Granted that the pupil-teacher system and the training colleges between them were calculated to deaden any spark of intelligence or desire for knowledge, one is still impressed by the way in which the desire for knowledge and "culture" managed to survive. A small but increasing number of elementary teachers matriculated or took the external degrees of London University and some ex-elementary teachers became distinguished in other professions, notably law, journalism, the church and secondary

¹¹ Rich, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

teaching. It should be remembered also that this generation of teachers destroyed "payment by results" and created the higher elementary schools and pupil-teacher centres. As G. A. Christian, one of them, has written:

"The products of that earlier time have as a body deserved well of England. Their difficulties and drawbacks, the meagreness of their advantages and the consciousness of their handicap, enforced self-reliance, braced their resolution, challenged all their powers, evoked the best that was in them and taught them how to tackle and overcome difficulties."¹²

Part of the explanation of their resilience is that the students who were trained were, on the whole, the best of a very large number of pupil-teachers, who were in turn selected from the most promising children of the elementary schools. "With so much selection, the material on which the colleges worked could not fail to be sound, and the colleges would have been inefficient indeed had they not made some good use of it."¹³

By the 1890's the quality of the staff of the training colleges had begun to improve. University trained teachers began to be recruited on to the staff and men like P. A. Barnett of Borough Road brought the best traditions of the older universities into the training colleges. The petty restrictions surrounding the lives of the students were gradually lifted¹⁴ and more facilities were provided for the social and recreational life of the student body. In 1893 provisions were made for especially able students to spend a third year abroad.

The significant new departure in the training of teachers was the foundation of the Day Training College System. The demand for training colleges of a non-residential type came in the main from the great urban school boards. The existing training colleges were providing an inadequate supply of trained teachers and nonconformist students in particular were finding it extremely difficult to get a training. In spite of the Queen's Scholarships, many eligible candidates could not afford their part of the cost of training (entrance fee, fares, pocket money, clothes and maintenance during vacation) or would rather live at home than go into residence. Suggestions were also made for linking up the

¹² G. A. Christian, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

¹³ *B.P.F.*, 1914, XXV, p. 17.

¹⁴ Although they persist to the present day in the smaller training colleges.

proposed non-residential colleges with the university colleges then growing up in various parts of the country.

The Cross Commission considered various suggestions for "day training colleges". The majority recommended that a system of day training colleges, in connection with local university colleges, should be tried, on a limited scale, to meet the needs of those students who could not find a place at a residential training college. Only a limited number of students should receive government assistance towards their training and no portion of the cost of establishing or maintaining the day training colleges should fall upon the rates.¹⁵ The minority gave a much heartier support to the suggestions for day training colleges and advocated "rate aid" for them.

In 1890 the Education Department drew up regulations for the administration of grants to "day training colleges" in connection with universities and university colleges. The students were to receive their general education in the ordinary classes of the university institution, their professional training being the work of a special department of the college. Between 1890 and 1900 sixteen such colleges were established and in 1899 they held 1196 students. Permission was given for students to remain for three years to take a degree and although the number who obtained their degree in this way was not large, the fusion of some teacher training with university education was a step towards the fulfilment of a long-cherished dream of the teaching profession.¹⁶ It was at this time also that pupil-teachers began competing directly for Oxford and Cambridge scholarships and exhibitions.

The residential colleges did not lag behind the day training colleges and many of them sought affiliation to universities so that

¹⁵ *B.P.P.*, 1888, XXV, pp. 98-102.

¹⁶ An important part in the movement for university education for teachers was played by Canon Barnett of Toynbee Hall. He founded the "Education Reform League" which pressed for university education for all elementary teachers (*The Schoolmaster*, 27 March, 1886) and the "Teachers' University Association" which from 1885 onwards sent elementary teachers to Oxford and Cambridge for three weeks' training at a time. The Toynbee Hall "Pupil-Teacher University Scholarship Fund" sent pupil-teachers direct to Oxford and Cambridge and in 1900, thanks chiefly to the liberality of the Drapers' and Cloth Workers' Companies, thirteen Toynbee scholars were studying at Oxford and thirteen at Cambridge. Two-thirds of them were collegiate and they obtained results much above the average. Also connected with Toynbee Hall was the "London Pupil-Teachers' Association" aiming "to give to the pupil-teachers of London interests and pleasures beyond the strict limits of their school life".

their students could attend lectures and qualify for admittance to the degree. In 1899, 252 students from day training colleges and 467 from residential colleges presented themselves for university degrees and 185 day and 217 residential students were successful.¹⁷ The failure rate was high, for the task of pursuing technical studies (all students had to pass Part I of the certificate in professional subjects), while at the same time preparing for a degree, involved a great strain on the students and one or the other branch of study was apt to suffer. Although the majority of those who failed at their first attempt were successful at subsequent attempts, it was suggested by some authorities that it would be better to let the men take their degree first, undisturbed by other work, and then call upon them for a period of continuous training in the science and practice of teaching.

At the same time there was a growing concern with the lack of training of teachers for secondary schools. Attempts had been made as early as 1846 (when the College of Preceptors was established) to provide some means of training and some standard of qualification for teachers in secondary schools but the fifty years' struggle had been singularly unsuccessful. Closely linked with the movement for training secondary teachers was the movement for teachers' registration. Since it originated among the teachers in secondary schools in an attempt to establish a barrier against inefficiency and to constitute a self-governing profession, this basic aim won the support of the elementary teachers who wished to preserve the standard of their certificate and drive the uncertificated teacher from the profession. The secondary teachers were not anxious to accept the support of the elementary teachers whom they considered to be far beneath them.¹⁸ While the secondary teachers were willing to accept a registration Bill for secondary teachers only, the NUT opposed any such Bill with all the means at its disposal. The elementary teachers claimed

¹⁷ B.P.P., 1901, XIX, p. 194.

¹⁸ The bitter class hostility between the "cultured" middle-class secondary teacher (who had often "come down" in the world) and the "uncultured" elementary teacher (who had "come up" in the world) has affected relations between the two branches of the profession to the present day. Each side had a stereotyped view of the other. The elementary teacher was regarded as uncouth and uncultured, a drillmaster employing tyrannical methods to enforce rote learning while the secondary teacher was regarded as incapable of teaching his limited store of knowledge and relying solely on the snob value of his class background and his degree (if any). These stereotypes still poison relations in the profession long after any justification there may have been for them has vanished.

that they were the only teachers in the country who had been specifically trained to teach and that the non-registration of the elementary teachers would be a barrier to their teaching in the secondary schools. They also opposed any attempt to define the exact status of an "elementary" school and claimed that many "elementary" teachers were engaged in "secondary" education in higher grade schools, pupil-teacher centres and science and art classes. Throughout the century, various attempts which were made to institute training for secondary teachers met with the passive indifference or active hostility of the headmasters. Similarly, a series of Bills to establish a register for secondary teachers were successfully opposed by the N.U.T.

By the end of the century it was realized that the day training colleges could be extended to cover the training of secondary teachers. Several of the universities had established post-graduate diplomas in education for graduates. It appeared to some that the logical step forward was the unification of the education and training of elementary and secondary teachers. All would be educated at secondary schools, would proceed to university, graduate, and then take university diplomas in education. A unified profession would be welded together in a "General Educational Council" which would lay down standards of entrance and advise the government on educational policy. While this ideal was only held by a few far-sighted teachers, the establishment of the new "University County Council Training College for London" (now the University of London Institute of Education) in 1902 showed that the ideal could become reality.

Throughout the period under discussion the type of entrant to the profession had not altered. The profession was still being recruited almost completely from the "respectable" working class. But whereas in 1869-70 there had been 6384 boy pupil-teachers to 8228 girl pupil-teachers, by 1895-6 there were 6674 boy pupil-teachers and 24,948 girls. It was becoming increasingly difficult to get boys to become apprenticed as their parents were finding a more lucrative market for their sons' services in shop, office or factory. Towards the end of the century, the opening up of job opportunities in offices for girls started a decline in the number of girl pupil-teachers. From the high point of 26,103 in 1897-8 they fell to 19,699 in 1901-2. The dearth of pupil-teachers was most pronounced in the rural voluntary schools, since parents

were less willing to apprentice their children to a small and struggling voluntary school where their chances of obtaining a high place in the Queen's Scholarship examination were small. Even more important, with the restriction on the hours of work for pupil-teachers, it had become more economical to employ "Article 68'ers" than pupil-teachers.

By the 1890's it had come to be seen that the logical continuation of the changes that had taken place in teacher training was the integration of pupil-teacher training with the secondary schools and of the training colleges with the universities. At the same time it was realized that the very existence of the teaching profession was being threatened by the alarming increase of uncertificated and untrained female teachers.

The attitude of the teachers themselves to the changes in training had been almost uniformly favourable. The affiliation of training colleges to the universities and the alteration of the course of study so as to lead to the university degree had long been one of the ideals of the N.U.T. It was felt that these changes would raise the teachers' status and efficiency, break down the barrier between elementary and secondary teachers, and loose the stranglehold of the government on the profession.

Combined with these motives was a desire for "culture". James Blacker, in his Presidential Address to the N.U.T. in 1901, represented the inarticulate feelings of all teachers when he said that "the organized thousands of the National Union of Teachers have aspirations toward that high intellectual plane which has come to be embodied in one word—"culture".¹⁹ The elementary teachers were bitterly aware that in spite of their certificates and external degrees, in spite of their long and arduous climb upwards they still did not possess "culture". In their desire that "culture" should be introduced into their education and training there lay the seeds of much friction. "Culture" could be introduced only through "cultured" trainers, that is, men and women with experience in secondary and university education. It was almost inevitable that elementary teachers would find themselves being excluded from the secondary schools and training colleges in order to make room for such teachers. Tact and conciliation would be needed on the part of the administrators if the elementary teachers were not to be goaded into revolt. Unfortunately,

¹⁹ *N.U.T. Report*, 1901, p. xi.

as we shall see, the crucial post of Secretary of the Board of Education was occupied, from 1902 to 1911, by a man who was incapable of tact or conciliation.

The N.U.T. and the Educational Conflict

In dealing with the part played by the N.U.T. in the developing educational conflict one point must always be borne in mind. The N.U.T. policy was forged as a result of a willed compromise between the voluntary teachers and the board teachers inside the union. On many points, these two groups were in agreement, on others a compromise solution was readily accepted, while on a few points the union's policy wavered with the relative pressures of these two groups. That union policy was in the main successful is shown by the rise of membership between 1896 and 1901 from 32,000 to 45,000.

The union had three basic demands for educational reconstruction. Firstly, it wished for more money for the voluntary schools. This money was needed irrespective of who controlled the schools in order that the managers could offer higher salaries, employ certificated teachers, and improve the conditions under which the teachers worked. Secondly, it wished to end irresponsible one-man management in the voluntary schools and the tyranny of the small school boards. In general, the teachers wished for larger District Boards controlling responsible committees of managers. Only such authorities would be able to grant the teachers security of tenure, free them from extraneous duties and impose effective compulsory school attendance. Finally, the union wished for a unified educational system under a Minister of Education, a unified profession with a single teacher's register, a single scheme of education and training, and a single "General Educational Council" to advise (and even control) the Minister.

The Union and the Voluntary Schools

Both voluntary and board teachers were convinced that the "religious problem" was to a large extent a pseudo-problem. Their direct contact with working-class parents had taught them that the parents of the children in their schools were far less inclined to worry about the specific brand of denominational teaching than they were about other aspects of education. The teachers were also convinced that in the main the Cowper-Temple

clause was adequate to prevent "clerical tyranny". Similarly, they were convinced that the undenominational "scriptural" instruction of the board schools was not "secular" or "atheistical" as the champions of the church wished to prove.²⁰

The teachers had even less liking for the small school boards than for the denominational schools with their "one-man management".²¹ They demanded again and again that "education ought to be in the hands of bodies, intelligent, active, educated, acting over sufficiently wide areas to prevent local jealousies from creeping in and injustice to teachers being done". In insisting that some means had to be found as quickly as possible of providing more money for voluntary schools, there can be no doubt that the teachers were just as concerned with "the miserable condition of rural schools" as they were with the miserable salaries offered to voluntary school teachers. It was because of the teachers' detailed knowledge of the state of the voluntary schools that they were impatient at the religious wrangling and acrimonious partisanship that blocked every suggestion of educational reform.

With the return of a Conservative Government in 1895, the Church soon showed that it would only be satisfied by a complete victory. The President of the N.U.T. complained in 1898 that "benevolence in education has become an excuse for limiting the education of the people. Looked at from every standpoint, the theologian blocks the way."

The Union and Secondary Education

The educational ideal of the N.U.T. has been described by Beatrice Webb in a passage which deserves extensive quotation.²²

"Thus we find T. E. Heller, a staunch churchman, telling the Church Congress in 1882 that if the Church could not afford to keep up its schools adequately it should let the school boards take them over (*N.U.T. Report*, 1882, pp. cviii ff.).

"*N.U.T. Report*, 1893, Presidential Address, p. xxviii. "Which of us would not prefer to be dismissed from our position as teachers because we would not play the organ in the church or attend the Sunday school, rather than because we refused to marry or not to marry a petty school board or parish council member's daughter, to trade or not to trade at a certain shop—or because we would not clean the schoolroom or whitewash the offices connected with it at the command of such a board."

"B. Webb, *The New Statesman*, Special Supplement, 25 September, 1915, pp. 19-20. Beatrice Webb's work on the 1902 Education Act has been completely neglected by educational historians. This is in spite of the fact that Sidney Webb was one of the main architects of the Act and was intimately acquainted with the negotiations which preceded it.

"The leaders of the N.U.T. and the energetic administrators of the progressive School Boards, had a vision of an all-embracing system of public education from the infant school to the modernized university, administered by one *ad hoc* elected local authority, regulated by one central Government Department, and served by a homogeneous body of salaried men and women, disciplined by one type of training and belonging to one professional organization. All educational posts, not only in the public elementary schools, but also in the secondary, technical and university institutions were to be thrown open without favouritism to all the members of this united profession, in which promotion was to be exclusively by merit, measured not by the social antecedents or previous educational advantages of the candidates, but by their personal character and their ascertained professional and technical qualifications. The Inspectorate, both local and central, was to be mainly recruited from the more experienced and more able teachers. There were some idealists, indeed, who looked forward to seeing members of the N.U.T. appointed to the Secretariat of the Board of Education, whilst even the post of President of the Board of Education might come normally to be filled by a member of the profession with a talent for politics. This logical and attractive ideal of one homogeneous education service . . . was usually accompanied by a generous aspiration for a greatly improved education of the manual working class out of public funds. According to the programme of the N.U.T., the school life of the ordinary child was to be considerably extended; and wherever a boy or girl showed sufficient strength and capacity for superior technical or university education, this should be provided without cost to the parent. Above all, there was to be no distinction between the schooling of the manual working-class child and that of the middle-class child: in the extent, quality, or salaries of the teaching staff, or of the educational apparatus provided: in the amenity of the buildings, in the size of the classrooms: or in the games, sports and recreation grounds maintained by the Local Education Authority. . . . It was this part of the N.U.T. programme that attracted the support of the organized Labour movement. Moreover, this ideal appealed incidentally to a powerfully organized cause—the creed antagonisms of the Evangelical Free Churches and the Secularists. The absorption of all educational institutions aided by any public money, whether derived from endowments, from Government grants, or from rates into one system of education, administered in all its details by one directly elected *ad hoc* authority, seemed to imply the casting out of all denominational tests for teachers and of all dogmatic religious teaching—and therefore of the Anglican and Roman Catholic influence—from the public educational system."

It is necessary to stress four points in Beatrice Webb's description of the situation. Firstly, there was no necessary antagonism

between the ideals of the N.U.T. and the religious claims of the church. The antagonism that did arise was mainly due to the almost complete link-up between the Church, the Conservative Party and the public schools. Secondly, an intrinsic part of the "ideal" was an enlarged conception of secondary education which was to include a less "academic" type of education than that provided in the grammar schools.²¹ Thirdly, not only did the programme of the N.U.T. "attract the support of the organized labour movement" but the union set itself to organize that support and make it effective. Fourthly, while it is true that the N.U.T., in the main, favoured an *ad hoc* local authority, it was by no means rigid on this issue. The main alternative candidates for the post of Local Education Authorities were the County and County Borough Councils (already administering "Whisky Money"). The union opposed them on the grounds that education was so important that the local authority should be directly and specially elected. Behind their pressure for an *ad hoc* authority lurked the idea that such an authority might prove as susceptible to "teachers' politics" as the large school boards. In the event that an *ad hoc* body should be found impracticable, the union was ready to accept a composite authority with representatives from various local bodies and the teaching profession.

The ideal of the N.U.T. for the re-organization of education met with strenuous, determined and successful opposition from the "secondary" teachers. Beatrice Webb has described the action of the secondary teachers as follows:

"It was the desire to . . . insist that both the local authorities and the central government should maintain and develop a *separate* system of publicly subsidised controlled secondary education—a system of genuine secondary schools, staffed by secondary school teachers, instead of mere 'tops' to elementary schools—that led in 1890 to the establishment of the Headmasters' Association. . .

²¹ *N.U.T. Report*, 1893, Presidential Address, p. xxv. "There will still be a place for these grammar schools and a foremost place too in our scheme of education, but the majority of the secondary schools of the future must be of a modern type, and must answer the expectations and fulfil the needs of the common people. No scheme of scholarships from elementary schools to endowed schools or grammar schools of the ordinary type will suffice to provide either the amount or the kind of higher education required, but the secondary school must grow organically out of the elementary schools, and have its curriculum based on the foundation laid by us in the primary schools, and must be so comprehensive in its character that it will lead to the universities, if necessary, on the one hand, or to proper technical schools or colleges on the other."

During the following decade, right down to Mr. Balfour's Acts of 1902-3, the Headmasters' Association, backed up by all the other associations of masters and mistresses in secondary schools, whether private, proprietary or public, and encouraged by the expert opinion of educationists, carried on, in the Lobby of the House of Commons, in the audience chambers of cabinet ministers, in the offices of municipal councils and school boards, and even in the Press and the electorate, a perpetual struggle against the encroachments of the powerfully organized elementary school teachers, who were supported by the larger and more energetic school boards, by the organized labour movement, and by enthusiasts for a 'democratic' education."²⁴

The motives of the secondary teachers and their supporters were both personal and professional. The secondary teachers wished to maintain their status and their monopoly of middle-class education. They were constantly complaining that "the normal development in the numbers attending secondary schools has been checked by the erection of lavishly equipped board schools". They were supported by Conservative politicians who wished to reduce the amount spent on the education of the working class.²⁵ They were supported also by the advocates of the voluntary school system who could not compete with the attractions of higher grade education offered by the "extravagant" school boards. Beatrice Webb shows the other side of their support:

"But besides this interested opposition, we find public-spirited and fervent educational idealists who found serious shortcomings in the 'new model' as actually carried out by the School Boards and the teachers who served them, and who struggled hard to keep alive what they deemed to be a better educational atmosphere. They had a vision of a national system of education which should afford both a greater variety and what they consider a higher type of physical, moral and intellectual training than was likely to be introduced by an extension upward of the elementary school as it was even under the best and most powerful School Boards. They realized that, in

²⁴ B. Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

²⁵ Lord Salisbury (Conservative Prime Minister, 1885-6, 1886-92 and 1895-1902) told a deputation that he would like Mr. W. E. Forster's statement in 1870, that in his belief the school rate would not exceed 3d. in the £. to be written in letters two feet long over every school board school in the country (*The Schoolmaster*, November 1895) Lowndes, *op. cit.*, p. 58, has pointed out that in all probability the leaders of the Conservative Party would not have accepted the 1902 Act if they had realized the great expansion of higher education that it would involve with the consequent expense and bureaucracy.

the existing social conditions and with the existing public opinion, it was impracticable, possibly even undesirable, to ask for this higher type of education for the whole community of children. But to them this fact seemed no reason why the sons and daughters of the professional and middle class, who could afford to forgo their children's earnings, and the pick of the boys and girls from the manual working class to whom scholarships could be awarded, should be deprived either of the training which would fit them to take their part as the pioneers, the director, and the organizers of industry, commerce, art, science and government, or of a fair share of the public funds available for educational purposes. The mere fact that it was impossible to provide the best educational atmosphere for all the millions of children was, it was urged, no reason why it should be provided for nobody at all."

It is important to realize that we have here a very real clash of educational principles and one which is still with us. In one form or another, the conflict between "education for an élite" and "secondary education for all" has lain behind all proposals for educational reform in the last sixty years. It crops up in discussions on the place of the public schools in the educational system, in the role of the comprehensive schools, in the place of the universities in technical education and in the relation between "Oxbridge" and "Redbrick". While class attitudes enter into the discussion, there is an influential element in the Labour movement itself which supports the theory of "education for an élite" on the grounds of the essential inequality of man.

"Now the best educational atmosphere, it was thought, could be maintained only by keeping up a high standard of culture. It could not, as a rule, be given by teachers, however industrious and sharp-witted, who came from working-class or lower middle-class homes, who had never enjoyed the advantages of outdoor sports and games or a cultivated leisure, and who had concentrated their energies from an early age upon the acquisition of the technique of instructing large classes of undisciplined children in multifarious subjects. The accent, the manner, the expression, even the physical characteristics and the clothes of the elementary school teacher were compared adversely with the more attractive personal characteristics resulting from a well-to-do home and the ordinary public school and university education."

Thus the victory of the "secondary" teachers' ideal could almost inevitably mean the exclusion of the majority of the

* B. Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 20

" *Ibid*

elementary teachers from the secondary schools. But it is important to add that the elementary schools and the elementary teachers would not be left for ever "uncultured". An essential part of the plan for educational reconstruction was that future elementary teachers were to have been educated in the secondary schools. It was hoped that, aided by the advice of the Inspectorate and the Upper Division of the Secretariat of the Board of Education which were to be recruited from the public schools and older universities, the traditions of the public schools were to be transmitted—even if at third hand—to the elementary schools.

"It was an essential feature of this ideal that the education of the higher type could not be a mere extension and continuation of the education given in the elementary school, but should be from the earliest years adapted to a school life carried on to the age of seventeen or eighteen. Thus even in the case of boys and girls picked from the elementary school for special ability, their transfer to the finer educational atmosphere should take place not when they would normally have left the elementary school at fourteen or fifteen years of age, but directly their exceptional capacity could be recognized by examination—say, at ten or eleven. This double-barrelled system necessitated, it was suggested, not only different types of teachers, but also different systems of administration."²⁸

It is in the light of this conflict of ideals that we can understand the insistence of the N.U.T. that no scheme of secondary education could be satisfactory which treated secondary schools as a separate class, did not arrange that the work of higher grade board schools and other schools should grow organically out of the work of the primary schools, or did not provide free education throughout the various grades for every child showing the necessary ability.

The Headmasters' Association, when it started in the early 1890's, found that it was impossible to beat the N.U.T. with its own weapons of "teachers' politics". Methods which could be used by the N.U.T. with its large and disciplined membership and its close contact with the working-class electorate, were not open to the less numerous and more socially exclusive secondary school teachers.

"Hence the representatives of the Universities and of the Secondary Education Associations had to fall back on another method—a method which I may call 'teachers' diplomacy'. Owing to the fact

²⁸ B. Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

that the leading members of the Headmasters' Association and the Headmasters' Conference belonged to the same social class as the cabinet ministers, the chief permanent officials, and the majority of members of parliament, and had, in fact, often been their tutors and headmasters, they had easy access to them in unofficial and informal ways. Cogent reports were prepared, informative memoranda drafted, and pressing resolutions passed for submission to Cabinet Committees, heads of Departments, and sub-committees of Local Councils. The County and Borough Councils were pressed to appoint on their Technical Education Committees representatives of university and secondary education. The 'Whisky Money' began to be devoted not merely to haphazard technical classes, but also to the systematic development of Scholarships and Secondary Schools."²⁹

3. A persistent agitation (in which the N.U.T. joined) led in 1894 to the appointment of the Bryce Commission. The Commissioners (with the exception of J. H. Yoxall) were men who were steeped in the social and educational ideals of the two older universities and the public school system. Hence their recommendations took the form of a *separate* national organization of secondary schools, to be administered in the several localities by newly constituted composite councils, which were to be made up of County Council representatives, crown nominees, and co-opted persons of educational experience. There was also to be a Minister of Education to be advised (so far as concerned secondary education) by a Central Council of university representatives and crown nominees.

In 1895 a powerful Conservative Government took office, with an educational policy unfavourable to the daily growing influence of the school boards. It was faced with the problem of satisfying both the educational reformers and the Church of England. A Bill introduced into the House of Commons on 31 March, 1896, was at first favourably received by some leaders of the N.U.T. (in particular T. J. Macnamara) as offering a basis for compromise. However, when it became clear that the Bill necessarily involved "religious tests" for board school teachers and "right of entry" for teachers of denominational religion into board schools, the N.U.T. swung into complete opposition and it was largely due to this opposition that the Bill was withdrawn.

The Union and the Act of 1902

It is not necessary to discuss the negotiations and intrigues inside and outside the Board of Education which led up to the

²⁹ B. Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

replacement of Kekewich by Robert Morant and the 1902 Act. Lowndes has summarised the Bill prepared by Morant and Webb:

"Any county or county borough council, any borough council with a population over 10,000 and any urban district with a population of over 20,000 would have power by resolution to take over the work of the school boards in their area, so becoming the 'local education authority'. The county and county borough councils (but not the borough and urban district councils) were, in addition, charged to consider the educational needs of their areas and to take such steps as might seem to them desirable, after consultation with the Board of Education, to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary and to promote the general co-ordination of all forms of education; over and above the 'Whisky Money' they might expend a 2d. rate upon such higher education. The new Local Education Authorities so created were to have the control of all secular education in the schools hitherto provided, or to be provided in future, by the denominations. Thus the aid of the rates was for the first time to be brought to the 'non-provided' schools, but—significantly—although the ratepayer was to find the cost of maintenance as distinct from the provision and upkeep of the fabric, four foundation managers might be appointed by the denomination compared to two by the local authorities. The appointment of teachers was vested in the managers subject to a veto on educational grounds by the local education authority. Assistant and pupil-teachers—as distinct from the principal teacher—might be appointed if thought fit without reference to creed or denomination."¹⁰

The story of the great conflict which took place on the "religious question" has been told in detail in most educational and social histories.¹¹ The Bill met the main demands of the progressives and the N.U.T. in that it envisaged a comprehensive, unified scheme of education under a single central authority with a single local authority in each district. For this reason and for granting financial aid to the hard pressed denominational schools, it was warmly welcomed by the N.U.T. On the "religious question", the union as a body disassociated itself from the nonconformists. It claimed that the vital interests of the children should not be sacrificed to the "theologians". The union was bitterly attacked by the extreme nonconformists for its "betrayal".¹²

¹⁰ Lowndes, *op. cit.*, pp. 79–80.

¹¹ The best descriptions are in Lowndes, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–7, and B. M. Allen, *Sir Robert Morant*, 1934, pp. 171–98.

¹² See, for example, the "leader" in *Daily News* (quoted in *The Schoolmaster*, 6 September, 1902). "The Bill, which holds out promise of more

In the prolonged debates on the Bill, Yoxall and Gray played exceptionally active parts and the views of the N.U.T. were presented at every stage. To the teachers, educational unification was more important than the rights of dissent and the N.U.T. supported the Government's decision to abandon "local option" and to compel the new authorities to give rate-aid to voluntary schools.

The N.U.T. had abandoned the idea of an *ad hoc* authority but it demanded that a majority of the members of the Education Committee should be answerable to an electorate. During the Report Stage of the Bill, Mr. Yoxall moved a successful amendment that, except in the case of a County Council, the Education Committee should infallibly contain a majority of members who were also members of the council for that district.

The elementary teachers feared that the Act would lead to a cutting down of the standards of elementary education and a restricting of the elementary schools within rigid limits. There were also fears that the sharing of the rates between the voluntary schools and the board schools would lead to a dragging down of the standard of the board schools. The Bill was amended to raise the age for *possible* attendances at day schools from fifteen to sixteen (even this age could be extended if no suitable higher education was available within a reasonable distance of the school). The limit on age for evening schools was abandoned, the Prime Minister gave an undertaking that the Code Standard of 1901 would be maintained in all schools and the 2*d.* in the £ rate limit for higher education was removed for County Boroughs³³

The greatest achievement of the N.U.T. and its "parliamentary representatives" was the passage of an amendment to Clause 7(1) (c) stating that "the consent of the Authority shall also be required to the dismissal of a teacher unless the dismissal be on grounds connected with the giving of religious instruction in the school". This amendment was secured after considerable trouble and difficulty. In addition, the teachers were promised that the next code would contain a Minute providing for prevention of the carrying out of any extraneous duties. The union was also

public money for salaries, has produced something like political demoralization among school teachers. . . . For the first time in any election the teachers as a body were found working hand in hand with the publicans. Perhaps they will adopt their new-found friend's motto 'Our trade is our politics.'

³³ Although not for County Councils who were still prevented from raising the rates unless the Local Government Board consented to the increase.

successful in obtaining a promise from the Prime Minister that the grants to day training colleges should be augmented so that provision on equal terms should obtain for students "not of the same religious beliefs as the existing training colleges" and in the insertion of a clause in the Bill giving power to the L.E.A. to spend money on the training of teachers. All these advantages were obtained through the pressure of the union's representatives in Parliament.

The 1902 Act gave the N.U.T. a great deal. While it was not the Bill the union itself would have drafted, the majority of the elementary teachers accepted it as the best Bill that could have been hoped for in the circumstances of the time. The union entered the new educational era with great hopes. Much depended on the detailed administration of the Act and the story of the next nine years is of the slow blighting of the elementary teachers' hopes and the final explosion of the "Holmes-Morant" Circular.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE TEACHERS AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE ACT OF 1902

"At all times it (the policy of the Board) has been a steady, pitiless delimitation of 'elementary' schools, the 'elementary' scholar, the 'elementary' teacher, and the law of elementary education. When is this nightmare to cease? Is it not degradation enough for a Liberal Government that five years of Liberal rule have seen the education of the country restricted, the teachers depressed and insulted, and the public service paralysed by a personal tyranny which is as inept and wayward as it is cruel."

The Nation, June 1911¹

THE Education Act of 1902 had placed the control of existing schools in the hands of new authorities and had opened the way for future growth. In no sense, however, did the Act lay down the direction in which English education was to proceed. The development of education was determined not by Parliament but by the Board of Education in conjunction with the new LEAs. From 1902 until 1911 Sir Robert Morant was Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education and it was his will which was mainly operative in shaping English education in those key years. His personality and influence were such that even forty-five years after his resignation it is difficult to see him clearly at all without prejudice.

The recent tendency to blame Morant for many of the weaknesses of English education (in particular for the neglect of technical education) does not seem to me to be either a fruitful or a truthful approach to the study of secondary education.² As we saw in the last chapter, there were essentially two concepts of secondary education in opposition to each other at the time of the 1902 Act. Morant was a singularly able and forceful exponent of the majority opinion of the time, that is, the opinion of the "secondary school interests" of "secondary education for

¹ Quoted in *The Schoolmaster*, 1 July, 1911.

² I am here in broad agreement with the analysis of educational policy recently put forward by O. Banks, *op. cit.* pp. 33-50.

leadership" or an "aristocracy of brains".³ One must remember also that Morant was handicapped by the need for financial stringency. In minimizing the importance of Morant's individual beliefs in determining the direction which English education was to follow, it is in no way my intention to minimize either his great services as an administrator or his equally great failings as a human being. His services to education are well documented in his biography and his failings as a human being can be deduced equally from references to him by his friends as from attacks by his enemies. Even if the changes which Morant instituted were "inevitable" (given the educational ideals and political necessities of the time) it appears certain that his personality and the methods he adopted to put the changes into effect, built up such a feeling of ill-will towards himself and his department as to render his eventual overthrow almost equally "inevitable".

It is not necessary to examine all the changes made between 1902 and 1914 in the English educational system but only those which directly affected the elementary teacher. Among these are changes in the recruitment and education of teachers, changes in the relationship between elementary and secondary schools and changes in the regulations for training colleges.

The Recruitment and Education of Teachers

We have seen in Chapter X the increasing tendency during the 1890's for pupil-teachers to receive their education at "pupil-teacher centres" instead of at the schools in which they worked. Towards the end of the century, the buildings and staffs of secondary schools were beginning to be used for the instruction of pupil-teachers. The Education Act of 1902 had empowered the new L.E.A.s to make provision for the training and instruction of teachers, and in July 1903 the Board issued a new body of pupil-teacher regulations based upon two main principles: firstly, the deferring of all employment in public elementary schools until the age of sixteen or seventeen in order to facilitate the preliminary education of future teachers; secondly, the continuance, as far as possible, of that preliminary education during the age of pupil-teachernhip.⁴ The Prefatory Memorandum to the

³ B. M. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 126, 135.

⁴ The employment of pupil-teachers in elementary schools was strictly limited to half of the meetings during which the elementary schools to which they were apprenticed were open. During the remaining half of their time,

regulations laid stress upon the importance of providing a sound general education for all potential teachers, in spite of the heavy initial expense entailed, as an essential condition of the production of adequate results from all other expenditure upon elementary schools. It suggested that the provision of a well organized scholarship system intended to assist the preparation of candidates for the teaching profession should be the first care of every L.E.A. The memorandum concluded by suggesting that L.E.A.s might probably wish to try various experiments in organizing the education of prospective teachers, and that while some might think it necessary to retain a form of pupil-teachership, others might think it desirable to forgo every form of service in an elementary school until the age of seventeen or later, or even until after the conclusion of a training college course. The Board was fully aware of the difficulties which might arise as pupil-teachers entered the secondary schools. Not only would there be difficulties of organization but there was the "class problem" to be faced. Both middle-class parents and secondary teachers objected at first to the introduction of pupil-teachers into their schools and the elementary teachers in turn resented the fact that some secondary schools made invidious distinction between pupil-teachers and the other pupils.⁵

During the period from 1904 to 1907, there was a strong tendency for pupil-teacher centres to close down and for their pupils to be transferred to secondary schools. Some of the earliest and most successful centres were indeed converted into secondary schools.⁶ As the prospective teachers were absorbed into the secondary schools, it became increasingly difficult to fit their work as pupil-teachers into the school organization. The

they were to receive approved courses of instruction extending over at least 300 hours annually, which had to be given, wherever possible, in fully equipped and staffed pupil-teacher centres. These might either be attached to secondary schools or, with the special consent of the Board, which was only given if secondary schools were not available for the purpose, to higher elementary schools or they might be separately organized institutions. It was contemplated that, as a rule, the preliminary education of pupil-teachers, before they were recognized as such, would have been given in the secondary schools.

⁵ The two groups were separated from each other as much as possible, had separate playtimes and so forth (*The Schoolmaster*, 28 October, 1911).

⁶ The degree to which the need to provide education for future teachers contributed to the extension of secondary education (especially for girls) has often been neglected. In 1910, no less than 554 of the 736 recognized secondary schools were taking part in the education of bursars or pupil-teachers (*B.P.P.*, 1910, XXI; 1914-16, XVIII). See also O. Banks, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-50.

Board which had written in 1903 that "it is clear that pupil-teachers not only must, but should continue to be an important part of the educational system of the country" was in 1907 asking "whether (pupil-teachership) is worth keeping in existence at all, whether the continuous contact with the child mind . . . is worth struggling for at the cost of the disorganization of the secondary schools and the overwork, dissipation of energies, and in many cases neglect, which are too often the result of the half-time system to pupil-teachers themselves". These words forecast the death of the pupil-teacher system. For sixty years it had been the main avenue of recruitment to the profession, the easiest method of obtaining a higher education open to the working-class child and thus an important avenue of social mobility. While the system lingered in rural areas for many years, the new entrance to the profession and to the white collar occupations was through the secondary schools.

It was still not possible to leave the recruitment of the profession to the scholarship system and the "attractions of the profession". In 1907 an alternative to the traditional method of pupil-teachership was instituted. Under this scheme secondary school pupils of sixteen and over, who had been attending a secondary school for at least three years, were eligible for "bursar" grants, to enable them to stay at school until seventeen or eighteen, when they could enter a training college or become "student teachers" for a year prior to entering college. Most of the local authorities also found it necessary to provide "teaching" or "probationary" scholarships to secondary schools for children of twelve to sixteen on condition that they undertook to become teachers.

The first effect of these new regulations was an alarming decrease in the number of entrants to the profession. From 11,018 in 1906-7 the number of entrants (pupil-teachers and bursars) declined to 4308 in 1912-13. In 1909 the Board estimated that 14,000 new pupil-teachers and bursars a year would be needed. The decline in total entrants to less than a third of that number threatened the whole existence of the educational system. The decline was particularly serious for boys and as early as 1906 the Board was complaining that "we seem to be approaching a condition of things in this country similar to that in America, where the male elementary teacher is a *rara avis in terris*".

The most important reason for this fall was the postponement of the time of wage-earning involved in the "bursar" system. The ambitious boys and girls who entered by what was now the commonest avenue to the profession, could not begin full wage-earning before, at earliest, the age of nineteen, and had often to wait until twenty-one. During the secondary school period they were a drain upon their families' resource and the maintenance allowance during the bursar year was comparatively small. A barrier had been set up against the entrance of working-class children into the profession. Indeed, an article in the *Manchester Sunday Chronicle* on the subject was headed "A Stolen Profession". At the same time, the profession was still not attractive enough for the children of the middle classes. Indeed, teaching on the whole was becoming less attractive to entrants. While the average salaries of certificated teachers had risen in the first decade of the twentieth century, the increase had been swallowed up by a rise in the cost of living. There had been a change for the worse in the prospects of promotion to headships and the "demarcation" between the elementary teacher and secondary teacher was closing an important avenue of promotion.

In spite of its deep concern with the shortage of teachers, the Board refused to abandon the bursar system and return to the pupil-teacher system. However, it made changes "designed to assist Local Education Authorities in facilitating the entry to the profession of children at present prevented from reaching it".¹ These changes had their effect and the years 1913-14 and onwards showed a slight rise in the number of entrants to the profession. The number, however, was still far too low that required to make up for the yearly wastage.

The shortage of certificated teachers was seriously handicapping the attempts of the Board to drive the "supplementary" (ex-Article 68) teacher from the profession. In 1909 the Board restricted the engagement of "supplementary" teachers so as to confine new appointments in future to infants' classes, or to the lowest class of older scholars in a small school in a rural parish. The Board granted five years' grace to supplementary teachers

¹ These changes included, (1) The development of rural pupil-teach-ership on improved lines, (2) some further assistance by the State to meet the expenses incidental to preliminary education where the bursar system was applicable, and (3) the encouragement and assistance of schemes other than the bursar and pupil-teacher systems for bringing recruits into the profession.

engaged in schools for older children and between 1909 and 1913 the total number of supplementary teachers fell from 17,204 to 13,473. Towards the end of the five years, the Board was approached by many L.E.A.s and urged to postpone the date at which the recognition of supplementary teachers in departments for older children would cease. The Board agreed reluctantly and granted another five years' extension.

The increase in training college accommodation from 1902 onwards⁸ had meant that a much larger number of newly trained teachers were thrown upon the market at one time. As early as 1907 it was found that a certain number of ex-students were finding it impossible to obtain employment as trained certificated teachers on leaving college. From 1909 onwards the union was concerned to dissuade entrants to the profession and to demand a tightening up of staffing regulations in order to absorb the unemployed teachers. The union and the Board clashed continually on the amount and significance of unemployment and the Board accused the N.U.T. of exaggerating the number of unemployed and of deliberately disseminating "the idea . . . that a large proportion of young persons newly trained and qualified for teaching posts will find themselves permanently unable to obtain employment".

The N.U.T. pressed for the abolition of the Acting Teachers' Examination and the weeding out of the unqualified and partly qualified teachers. The Board, while honestly desiring to see the untrained and uncertificated teacher driven from the profession and better staffing conditions established, was unable to press too hard against the "backward" (mainly rural) authorities. Many authorities had strained their resources to the utmost in supplying aid to the voluntary schools and building secondary schools and had little money to spare to improve staffing arrangements in elementary schools. The N.U.T. itself was aware of this and pressed for larger Treasury grants for the L.E.A.s.

Among the teachers as a whole, there was at first a disinclination to see the end of the pupil-teacher system. In part, this was due to a sentimental attachment towards the method which had brought the majority of them into the profession. There were also frequent complaints that many ex-bursars, on entering the

⁸ In 1903 there were 7000 and, in 1910, 12,000 places in the training colleges.

elementary schools, proved to be altogether ineffective as teachers and very unfavourable comparisons were drawn between their capacity and that of the ex-pupil-teacher, particularly in regard to the power of keeping discipline. The Board considered that it was unreasonable to expect as much of the bursars as of the pupil-teachers when they entered the schools, but was convinced that the average bursar was likely to make in the end a more efficient elementary school teacher than the average product of the old pupil-teacher system. In face of the continued demand from the N.U.T. that potential teachers should undergo some practical test before entering college, they at length gave their grudging consent to the "withdrawal of candidates for bursarship during a short period from the secondary school in order that they might undergo a test in the elementary school designed to weed out any who are obviously unsuitable, or manifest a dislike for teaching".

In exactly the same way as there was a disinclination to see the end of the pupil-teacher system, so also there was a disinclination to see the end of the pupil-teacher centres. The reasons were partly sentimental, partly the "vested interests" of the teachers in pupil-teacher centres and partly educational. While the N.U.T. admitted the importance of enlarging the future teacher's experience and culture, it was not convinced that the secondary schools were capable of doing this efficiently. After 1907 the fear of over-supply became dominant in determining the attitude of the union towards recruitment and education. The proposal of the Board to increase the supply of teachers by providing maintenance allowances for future bursars throughout their secondary school career was strongly condemned by the union.

The period from 1902 to 1914 had thus seen the complete transformation of the method of recruitment to the profession. The main problems for both the teachers and the Board were, firstly, how to obtain an increase in the State grant towards education and thus increase the number of trained and certificated teachers employed; and secondly, how to secure a balance between the over-supply and the under-supply of certificated teachers. Thirdly, there was the problem of how to balance the teachers' demands that recruitment to the profession should be left to an adequate scholarship system and the "attractions of the profession" (which would involve an increase in both secondary

education and the remuneration of the teacher), with the Board's necessity to economize in education.

Elementary and Secondary Schools

Morant has been widely praised for sweeping away the last traces of "payment by results".⁹ The "Elementary School Code" of 1904 and the "Suggestions for the consideration of teachers and others engaged in the work of Public Elementary Schools" of 1905, put forward ideals of the true nature of the teacher's work which have hardly ever been bettered. While recognizing the nobility of the conception of education which lay behind these words, it is necessary to point out that Morant was only concluding the work which had been one of the main preoccupations of the elementary teachers since 1862. The destruction of "payment by results" was not the work of one man but of many men.

As with all educational changes, it was difficult for some of the older administrators and teachers to accustom themselves to the changed conditions. The last years of the London School Board had been marked by a struggle between the N.U.T. and the School Board over the Board's attempt to re-instate individual examination of scholars by its own inspectors. Many of the inspectors from the School Boards were taken over by the new L.E.A.s and there were constant complaints both from the teachers and from the H.M.I.s that these local inspectors were inclined to perpetuate the evils of "payment by results". These complaints led up to the famous incident of the "Holmes Circular". It is important to note that both before and after the Holmes Circular, the N.U.T. found it necessary to protest against undue interference by both local inspectors and H.M.I.s.

While it would be unjust to accuse the Board of neglecting the elementary school deliberately, it is undeniable that its major concern was with constructing an adequate system of secondary education. In part this was due to its belief that no improvement could be hoped for in the elementary school until a majority of elementary teachers had been educated in the secondary schools. The Board's conception of secondary education was of something far superior to elementary education and it concerned itself from

⁹ *Report of the Ministry of Education for 1950*, p. 36.
S. J. Curtis, *Education in Britain since 1900*, 1952, pp. 34, 65.

1895 onwards with the "demarcation", "definition" or "delimitation" of the two forms of education. As secondary education was to be superior to elementary education, it would be necessary to spend far more money per pupil in the secondary school than per pupil in the elementary school. The Board believed that the advantages the ex-elementary school child would obtain from the secondary school would be as much social as educational. These social advantages would be missing if the teachers in the secondary school were to be the "uncultured" ex-elementary teachers. Equally, the advantage of mixing the working-class children with the middle-class children would be missing if too many scholarship children were admitted. Finally, the earlier the ex-elementary school child entered the secondary school, the greater the social advantage he would obtain from his stay.

Against the Board's policy, the NUT pressed for "parity of conditions" as the only way in which "equality of opportunity for all, regardless of rank, fortune, or social status" could be implemented. The union also bitterly resented the exclusion of ex-elementary teachers from the secondary schools. There is no evidence that the exclusion of ex-elementary teachers *as such* was a deliberate policy of the Board but it followed almost automatically from the Board's conception of secondary education.¹⁰ To the elementary teachers it appeared as one more example of the "caste" attitude of the Board. It appeared to be part of the same policy that was excluding the ex-elementary teachers from teaching posts in the training colleges.

It is interesting to follow the fluctuations of NUT policy regarding the higher grade schools since it shows the dilemma in which progressive educationists were placed.¹¹ Once the scholarship system to the secondary grammar schools was well under

¹⁰ G. Baron, *The Secondary Schoolmaster, 1895-1914* Ph.D. 1952 (Education), University of London, pp. 194-7, 268-81, has studied the reports of the inspectors of secondary schools for the period. His general conclusion is that there was no definite policy laid down by the Board which inspectors necessarily had to follow.

What the inspectors opposed was the introduction of the rigid methods of the elementary school into the secondary school. On occasions (e.g. in a badly staffed older grammar school), they were willing to recommend to the Governors the employment of "trained" (i.e. ex-elementary) teachers to "put the school on its feet". There was, however, a general tendency for inspectors to urge the introduction of teachers with direct knowledge of grammar or public schools (preferably Oxford or Cambridge graduates). They were most insistent on this in the higher grade and municipal secondary schools which had previously been staffed almost completely by ex-elementary teachers.

¹¹ See O. Banks, *op cit.*, pp. 51-60.

way, the N.U.T. was almost forced to press for more scholarships and more grammar schools. Any attempt to build technical or higher elementary schools was liable to be met by the criticism that higher elementary schools were intended as poor substitutes for grammar schools. While, in 1903, the President of the union had suggested higher grade schools as a step between the primary school and the grammar school, in 1907 the union's policy was that "there is in reality, no place for higher elementary schools. . . . If they were to be established in any numbers, they would, like the old higher grade schools, gradually become secondary schools in scope and aim, and the few higher elementary schools now existing should be termed secondary, and treated as such." The union accused the Board of "thwarting and hindering the higher educational interests of the children of the working classes" and of conserving "the public supply of higher education as a social rather than a national provision". The narrowing of the curriculum of the higher elementary schools and the Board's policy of encouraging high fees in the secondary schools were looked upon as steps in a "deliberate attempt to 'fend off' from the secondary schools proper all but a few of the children of the workers".

The attack of the union on the higher elementary schools can be understood only in the light of the *Report of the Consultative Committee upon Higher Elementary Schools* (1906). The committee had attempted to draw a distinction between "secondary schools" proper and "lower secondary schools" (or "pseudo-secondary schools"). The report considered that higher elementary schools were needed for children who were to complete their day-school education, at the age of fifteen, and go "to earn a living in the lower ranks of commerce and industry". These children needed a kind of education "that is likely to make them efficient members of the class to which they will belong". The committee attacked the existing higher elementary schools for "too broad and too ambitious educational aims" and deprecated the taking of "secondary school examinations" as "apt to influence unduly the character of the curriculum, and to act in the direction of producing a pseudo-secondary school". Against the committee's view of a full "grammar" education for a small group of children and a "lower" secondary education for a larger group, the N.U.T. put forward its ideal of free higher education for all

children. This higher education should not be limited in character, but, "by means of a properly graded system of schools, should include general, commercial, professional, technical and trades, and domestic training so as to develop the natural tendencies of the children".

It is almost certainly true that Morant did not conceive the tremendous expansion in numbers of the secondary schools during the inter-war period. Secondary education he considered suitable only for those children who would enter the professions (including elementary teaching) or take higher posts in industry or commerce. Against this, the N.U.T. was constantly demanding an extension of the scholarship system to secondary schools and the abolition of fees. The controversy was formulated by Mr. Pickles at the N.U.T. conference in 1911:

"The old liberal policy . . . was to provide an open road with no unbridged moat for every scholar able and willing to continue his education. The policy of some of the permanent officials was the mediæval plan which barred the road to the masses, picked up here and there a clever lad of lowly birth, took him out of his order, fitted him with the education of the ruling classes, and made him one of them—a system which had been described as providing a handful of knights and an army of serfs."

The Training Colleges

Much of the Board's activity in regard to training colleges was concerned with enlarging their number and enabling more teachers to be trained. The Board recognized a new type of college, the "municipal day training college", supplied by the L.E.A. The Board also abolished the "75 per cent limit of grant" which had hitherto been applied to residential colleges and under the Liberal Government determined and successful attempts were made to free the colleges from denominational and social restrictions.¹² These activities were warmly welcomed by the teachers.

At the same time, however, the Board was engaged in constraining (or "demarketing") the course of study in the training colleges. We have already seen how, in the 1890's, students at

¹² *B.P.P.*, 1907, LXIV; 1908, XXVI, 1909, LXVII, p. 11. The regulations forbade training colleges to reject candidates on the grounds of religious faith, social status or social antecedents. The regulations were fiercely opposed by the church and finally an agreement was reached by which one-half of the places were filled without denominational tests.

training colleges began reading for university degrees instead of taking the ordinary certificate examination. Each year a large and increasing number of students was able to take advantage of the degree courses and the N.U.T. looked forward to the day when a university degree would be "part of the ordinary outfit of a student when he left college". As early as 1902, the Board announced that in 1904 and following years, if a student in a residential college working for a degree failed in his final examination, he would leave college unclassified and have to take the Acting Teachers' Examination the following year. This circular and succeeding changes in the training college regulations seemed to the N.U.T. to be intended to prevent "the ordinary training college student . . . from preparing or sitting during the college course for university examinations". The N.U.T. saw these changes as part of the general policy aimed at excluding the certificated teachers from the secondary schools.

The Board justified its policy on the grounds that training college students should devote their energies to professional training rather than to some branch of special study. While the decision may have been justified by the need to raise the standard of professional training, it was bitterly resented both by the N.U.T. and by the powerful Association of Training College Principals and Lecturers. In 1911 the Board recognized "training departments attached to university institutions as providing a four-year course of training, of which the first three years will be devoted wholly or mainly to study in preparation for the work of teaching in a public elementary school". The teachers and training college lecturers welcomed this step for its breaking down of the barrier between the primary and secondary teacher. In practice, however, the training system continued as "training college for the elementary teacher, university for the secondary teacher" and until the 1940's only unemployment could drive the graduate teacher into the elementary school.

Other Sources of Tension

We have now considered the main educational changes of the period and the tensions each of these changes produced between the elementary teachers and the Board. Three other sources of tension must be mentioned to give a complete picture—Morant's policy regarding the recruitment of inspectors and administrators,

his attitude towards the teachers' register and finally his personal attitude towards the N.U.T.

As early as 1901, Sir John Gorst (who was later to be accused of having acted under the influence of Morant) had created a new class of junior inspectors. He had thus blocked the avenue of promotion to the sub-inspectors in favour of young men straight from the universities. On Morant's appointment as Secretary, he used all his influence to place in key-positions at the Board men educated at the public schools and the older universities. The teachers were naturally unwilling to see the Inspectorate closed to them and they regarded Morant's policy as yet another example of the "caste" mind in education. In 1914, the then President of the Union, Mr. W. B. Steer, put the teachers' feelings succinctly by declaring:

"I frankly confess to a reasonable amount of envy of the 'varsity man, and, though my own college career is a thing of the long ago, I still resent the insistence of the Board of Education which forced me into its own mould, and then declared that mould to be a poor thing by shutting the door against me and my colleagues."¹³

In 1899, Parliament had explicitly enacted that a "teacher's register" should be set up with the names of all grades of teachers arranged in alphabetical order. "Without any public discussion, or any explanatory report, either by the Consultative Committee or by the Board; . . . there was issued in 1902, an Order in Council, prescribing, not as the Act of 1899 had directed, a single alphabetical list of teachers, but two lists. This was the notorious double-columned register, Column A being for the name of those qualified to teach in public elementary schools, and Column B for those qualified to teach in . . . secondary schools".¹⁴ The

¹³ *N.U.T. Report*, 1914, Presidential Address p. xli. During the Holmes Circular Controversy many figures were issued of the antecedents of inspectors in the Elementary Education Branch.

The figures given by L. A. Selby-Bigge to the Royal Commission on the Civil Service (*B.P.P.*, 1912-13, XV, Appendix XII, II, pp. 522-31) provide the most comprehensive picture of recruitment to the Inspectorate.

Of the 106 junior inspectors, eighty-five were graduates of either Oxford or Cambridge.

Of the eighty-six inspectors in the Elementary Education Branch only seventeen had five or more years' experience of teaching in a Public Elementary School and only six had ten or more years' experience.

See the evidence of Selby-Bigge before the Royal Commission, *B.P.P.*, 1912-13, XV, §8839, 8910-28, 9062-8, 9083-07, 9250-98, 9390-4, 9444-51.

¹⁴ B. Webb, *The New Statesman*, Special Supplement, 2 October, 1915, pp. 16-17. I have drawn heavily on Mrs. Webb's pungent and witty description in the succeeding paragraphs.

regulations specified that Column B was to be open only to those teachers who, besides having prescribed academic qualifications, had actually taught for a prolonged term in a secondary school. To adjudicate on claims, a strictly subordinate and purely administrative body called the "Teachers' Registration Council" was appointed by the Board.¹⁵ This amazing perversion of the teachers' register for which the N.U.T. had worked and which Parliament had sanctioned naturally provoked the most bitter resentment among the elementary teachers. For four years the N.U.T. campaigned against the "caste" register. During this period the ill-starred "Teachers' Registration Council" struggled with a maze of vacillating and inconsistent instructions from the Board, the Consultative Committee and the Lords of the Treasury. The Treasury refused to allow any money to be spent, other than that extracted by fees from the teachers who registered. The certificated elementary teachers were automatically registered without personal application or fee and the less numerous secondary teachers paid a guinea fee. Thus there was never sufficient money to warrant even the printing of the register. The Board was indifferent if not hostile to the whole idea. It insisted on keeping in its own hands the "recognition" of secondary schools, service in which alone could qualify for registration in Column B: and yet failed in its regulations for secondary schools, even to refer to the existence of the register, let alone give a hint that registration of teachers was regarded as desirable.

After four years' vain struggling, the T.R.C.—denied control over the conditions of registration, refused the funds necessary for its own expenses, prevented from printing the register, snubbed by the Board and under bitter attack from the N.U.T.—reported that it could not hope to carry out successfully the work which the Board had assigned to it. The Board, always antagonistic to the idea of a teachers' register, now seized the opportunity to abolish it. The 8000 secondary teachers who had paid their

¹⁵ The council consisted of six nominees of the government (not one of whom was an elementary teacher), and one representative each of the six principal associations of teachers (the Head Masters' Conference, the Incorporated Association of Head Masters, the Association of Headmistresses, the College of Preceptors, the Teachers' Guild and the N.U.T.). The secondary school assistants were completely ignored, the elementary teachers (by far the majority group) had one representative and the secondary school heads three.

guineas were to have their money refunded and the obligation to frame a register which the Act of 1899 had imposed was to be abolished by a new Education Act. The destruction of the T.R.C. would have proceeded with only scattered resistance had it not been for the rapprochement between the elementary and secondary teachers which had grown up since 1902. The increased control of education by the bureaucracy (both central and local) had forced the secondary teachers to realize that it was impossible for them to remain aloof from the elementary teachers. In January 1907 we find Dr. Rendall of Charterhouse saying at the annual meeting of the I.A.H.M.:

"Distinctions of head and assistant, of elementary and secondary, of technically trained and untrained, of graduate and non-graduate, are certain to break down in a country where neither unity nor co-ordination has obtained in any of these matters".

In the same year the NUT noted with pleasure that the I.A.H.M. and Teachers' Guild had agreed in principle to a one-column register.

Hence, when the Board declared its intention of simply abolishing the teachers' register, and introduced the Education (Administrative Provisions) Bill in 1907, it found considerable opposition from both the elementary and the secondary teachers. When the Bill reached the House of Lords, the Board found itself constrained, by statute, for the future establishment of "a Registration Council representative of the teaching profession" to which was to be assigned the duty of forming and keeping a register of such teachers as should satisfy the conditions of registration which the Council was itself to prescribe.¹⁸

From 1908 until 1911, the various teachers' associations were in constant consultation with each other and with the Board in an attempt to come to some agreement as to the constitution of the Council and the lines on which the new register was to be produced. After three years of complicated and delicate negotiations,

¹⁸ There was also an explicit statutory provision that the new register was to "contain the names and addresses of all registered teachers in alphabetical order in one column together with the date of their registration, and such further statements as regards their attainments, training and experience as the Council may from time to time determine that it is desirable to set forth",

the teachers managed to agree among themselves and with the officials of the Board as to the constitution of the Council. For several years Morant hesitated to give effect to the provision of the 1907 Act as he feared that the Council would be dominated by the elementary teachers. The delaying policy of the Board added still more to the bitterness of the elementary teachers against Morant. On 14 June, 1911, Morant finally gave way and the new "Teachers' Registration Council" was established by Order in Council in 1912. The new Council consisted of eleven representatives of the elementary teachers, eleven of the secondary teachers, eleven of the specialist teachers and eleven representatives of the universities. It had no power to compel registration or to put under any disability those who chose to remain unregistered or those to whom registration was refused. While the Council only partially met the demands of the teachers, it was welcomed by all sections as a step forward and set to work in a fine spirit of enthusiasm.

We have attempted to show how the policy followed by the Board from 1902 till 1911 inevitably brought it into conflict with the N.U.T. On many of the most important details of education the union felt that the Board's policy was "undemocratic" and "caste-ridden". The growth of the educational bureaucracy, the increasing flow of circulars, codes and suggestions and the encroachment of the Board upon the autonomy of the local authorities were regarded with disfavour by all branches of the teaching profession and many of the L.E.A.s. While there were many sources of tension, it is doubtful if the conflict, when it came, would have been waged with such bitterness had it not been for the personality of Sir Robert Morant. He has been described by his biographer as "ready to sweep aside ruthlessly . . . any particular individual that hindered . . . the achievement of his end".¹⁷ It is plain that Morant considered the N.U.T. and its officials to be among those that hindered the achievement of his end. Only violent personal hostility can explain the venom with which the N.U.T. officials attacked Morant over the Holmes Circular. The N.U.T. had welcomed Morant on his appointment as Secretary of the Board and the *Schoolmaster* had described him as "tall, of striking appearance, and with a mind both acute and courageous, he seems . . . precisely the man for the

¹⁷ B. M. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

moment".¹⁸ In 1911 the same paper was writing that "we do not wish to gag civil servants . . . but some of them must learn to be more open-minded, less haughtily prejudiced, more patient, more accessible to argument, less class-conscious, and less cocksure, than some of them have been".¹⁹

The "Holmes-Morant" Circular

We have already seen that both teachers and H.M.I.s had been complaining of the activities of some of the L.E.A. inspectors. When Mr. E. G. A. Holmes was appointed Chief Inspector for elementary schools in 1905, he asked his divisional inspectors to inquire into the matter.²⁰ The information they obtained was discussed at an inspectors' meeting in November 1906 and shortly afterwards the Chief Inspector circulated to his principal colleagues a private hectographed memorandum, stressing the deficiencies of some of the local authorities' officials. Two years later it was decided to obtain more detailed particulars upon the subject, and a further schedule of questions was circulated to the divisional inspectors.²¹

On the basis of the answers to this schedule of questions, a summary was prepared showing the areas in which local authorities had appointed their own inspectors of elementary schools. This information was communicated to inspectors of

¹⁸ *The Schoolmaster*, 8 November, 1902.

At that time it does not seem that Morant's part in bringing about the Cockerton judgment of 1899 was known. By 1911 he was being directly accused of being the man behind the "Cockerton conspiracy" (*The Schoolmaster*, 1 July, 1911, 17 May, 1913).

¹⁹ *The Schoolmaster*, 15 April, 1911.

²⁰ The investigation seems to have arisen out of a conversation between Holmes and Yoxall in which Yoxall complained that local inspectors in certain districts were re-imposing vicious systems of examination (*The Schoolmaster*, 2 March, 1912).

²¹ The schedule was as follows: "I shall esteem it a favour if you will let me know which (if any) of your Local Education Authorities have school inspectors of their own. In the case of those who have school inspectors, will you kindly inform me.

(1) How many inspectors of each sex are employed by each Local Education Authority.

(2) What their antecedents have been (social, academical and professional, etc.).

(3) What salaries they receive.

(4) What work they have to do (please describe in some detail).

(5) How they do this work.

(6) How far you find them a help or hindrance in your own district work.

Quoted in Parliament by Mr. Hoare, 21 March, 1911, and reprinted in *The "Holmes-Morant" Circular* (N.U.T. Publication, 1911).

schools of all types with a further memorandum from Holmes calling attention to the bad results arising from the appointment by local authorities of inspectors of the wrong type. This memorandum was the famous "Holmes Circular"²² and the order to print and circulate it to over a hundred inspectors was signed by Morant himself.²³ (For the full text, *see* p. 271.)

Through some unexplained leakage,²⁴ the printed memorandum fell into the hands of "someone who was not a member of the Board's Inspectorate". Early in 1911, extracts from the circular began to appear in the newspapers, and on 14 March, 1911, Samuel Hoare (Conservative Member for Chelsea) raised the matter in Parliament.²⁵ From 14 March onwards, the President of the Board of Education was harassed by a storm of questions.²⁶ In the general political atmosphere of the time, the circular appeared to the Conservatives as an ideal weapon to use against the Liberals. The Liberals could be taunted with inconsistency and their ranks could perhaps be split. The attack was reinforced by Liberals who blamed Morant for the passing of the 1902 Act and the Cockerton Judgment and by all those who resented the "reactionary" educational policy of the Board. As the controversy

²² Also called the "Holmes-Morant Circular" or "Memorandum E.21".

²³ Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-7, claimed that Morant was tired and overworked when he signed the order for publication.

²⁴ Morant had made several bitter enemies among the Board's Inspectorate and a few of these were ex-elementary school teachers.

²⁵ "... Whether a circular was issued from the Board of Education on or about 6 January, 1910, in which the Board's inspectors were advised to use their influence with local education authorities to persuade them to restrict their important administrative appointments to candidates educated at Oxford or Cambridge."

Mr. Runciman (President of the Board of Education)--"No, Sir, the Board have given no such advice and intend to give no such advice" (*Hansard*, 14 March, 1911).

²⁶ No description of the circular controversy is complete without some mention of the part played by Walter Runciman (later Viscount Runciman and Lord President of the Council, 1938-9). During the controversy he appeared as a weak, vacillating and even pathetic character. He took the almost unprecedented step of putting the responsibility on to Holmes and Morant and disclaiming any himself. In all fairness, it should be added that he was not aware of the existence of the circular till February 1911.

Ironically enough, Walter Runciman was the nephew of one of the most radical, capable and gifted elementary teachers that the profession has ever known. For the life of James Runciman, *see*,

T. Gautrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-3.

The Schoolmaster, 11 July, 1891.

J. Runciman, *Schools and Scholars*, 1887.

J. Runciman, *School Board Idylls*, 1885.

J. Runciman, "Pupil Teachers", in *The Schoolmaster*, 2 June, 1877.

developed, it was enlarged to include a general attack on "feudalistic bureaucracy" and a more particular demand for "democracy" in all the higher posts of the civil service. A great protest meeting, held at the Albert Hall on 13 May, 1911, was addressed not only by N.U.T. leaders but also by speakers from the Civil Service Unions. After the resignation of Morant, the parliamentary influence of the union was used to secure signatures by Members of Parliament to a memorial praying the Prime Minister to appoint a committee or commission of inquiry into the system of admission to the Upper Division of the Civil Service and promotions in it. The union claimed that it was largely due to its efforts that the Royal Commission on the Civil Service of 1912 to 1916 was set up.

It is the contention of this study that the significance of the "Holmes Circular" can only be realized in the light of the educational, political and social tensions of the time. Any attempt to explain it mainly in terms of the N.U.T.'s "resentment at loss of influence over the policy of the Board"²⁷ or of a union's natural desire to keep the plums of the profession for its members²⁸ tell only a part of the story. Seen in this light, the question of whether Morant was mainly responsible for the circular is of little importance. When E. G. A. Holmes (who had resigned in November 1910) wrote a letter to the Press in which he took entire responsibility for the sentiments expressed in the circular, the teachers refused to believe him. Another example of the way in which the teachers' attack was focused on Morant was their attitude to L. A. Selby-Bigge. When Selby-Bigge forwarded the Holmes Circular to his superior (Morant) he attached a note in which he said:

"I think this will interest you. I see no way of tackling the local inspection difficulty directly. Where we find the teachers of a locality in thrall to the mechanical and unenlightened and rigid methods of

²⁷ Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

²⁸ D. C. Somervell's account of the controversy (in his *British Politics since 1900*, 1950, p. 40) is so naive as to be hardly worth criticizing.

"The N.U.T., like all Trade Unions, was more interested in the careers of its members than in the quality of the service they gave to the community. Just as the candlestick makers' union is more concerned that the makers of candlesticks should wax fat than that the rest of us should get good cheap candlesticks, so the N.U.T. was more concerned that as many as possible of its members should rise to the Inspectorate than that the schools should have the best Inspectorate available. Morant so long the friend, was now pictured as the enemy of 'education'. He had to go."

local inspectors, the best way of turning their flank seems to me to be the concentration of a selected body of our inspectors on one or two of the most objectionable features, and their drastic condemnation in a sort of full inspection report. We have done a little of this kind of work lately and I wish we could do much more."²⁹

In spite of his close identification with the issue of the circular, Selby-Bigge was not attacked by the teachers and his period of office as Permanent Secretary in succession to Morant was singularly free from conflict with the N.U.T.

It is unnecessary to go into the course of the controversy. From 14 March, 1911, when Hoare first raised the question in the Commons, till November 1911 when Morant resigned (he had been preceded by Runciman), the matter was never allowed to drop out of mind. There were full debates in the Commons on 14 March and 13 July and questions were continually being asked on the antecedents of inspectors, the existence of secret circulars, the status of the President of the Board of Education, the staffing of the Board and allied topics.³⁰ The teachers' associations, the Association of Education Officers, the Association of Clerks of the Second Division of the Civil Service, the Convocation of the University of London and other groups passed resolutions against the Holmes Circular and the full force of the N.U.T.'s political machine was brought to bear. While the circular agitation was only a source of party advantage to the Conservatives, to the teachers, civil servants and left-wing Liberals it was much more. It was a "lance-head, a point of a spear, directed against a system which has lasted for many generations and is supported by many interests".³¹

The teachers claimed, with some justice, that the majority of the educational reforms of the past forty years "had been brought about not by the 'varsity type of inspector . . . but by the increasing advocacy of the National Union of Teachers". While they did not defend all the L.E.A. inspectors, they claimed that they were preferable to the "public school men from Whitehall". The

²⁹ Quoted in *The Schoolmaster*, 22 July, 1911.

Selby-Bigge was later to call the Holmes Circular controversy "A lively controversy over a matter of no intrinsic importance" (*See Dictionary of National Biography*, 1912-1921, 1928, p. 387).

³⁰ If a vote had been taken after the debate on 13 July it is possible that the government would have fallen, so great was the dissatisfaction among the Liberal Party. (*The Times*, 14 July, 1911; *The Schoolmaster*, 22 July, 1911).

³¹ *The Schoolmaster*, 27 May, 1911.

resignations of Runciman and Morant were regarded as great victories by the N.U.T. As the *Saturday Review* wrote: "Ministers are fleeting things at best. Sir Robert Morant was a fixture. However, he has gone at last. The N.U.T. can now be still. Has it not shown its power? Has it not humbled the Government?"³²

The Teachers and the L.E.A.s

The teachers entered into their relations with the new L.E.A.s with some reservations. The transition from the School Boards to the County Councils and County Boroughs was eased by the passage of Clause 17(4) of the 1902 Act (against the opposition of the Lords). This clause prevented teachers actually at work from being disqualified from sitting on the Education Committee. Teachers were barred from sitting on L.E.A.s under whom they were serving or by whom they were being paid, not because they were teachers, but because they were servants or received pay from the funds of such a body. A teacher was eligible to serve on a council outside the area in which his school was situated, or on any council which was not an L.E.A. As soon as the passage of the Bill appeared certain, the N.U.T. commenced making arrangements for taking full advantage of clause 17(4) and by the 1904 Conference, 592 teachers were either members of the authorities or on advisory committees.

Before 1902, the union had found it almost impossible to influence salaries except in the case of the larger School Boards. Many of the new L.E.A.s were, from their formation, desirous of placing the whole of their teaching staff under one comprehensive scale of salaries and the N.U.T. did a great deal of work in preparing and circulating information on existing scales of

³² Quoted in *The Schoolmaster*, 2 December, 1911.

See also *Morning Post*, 24 November, 1911.

"When *The Schoolmaster* raises its slogan and the clans of the N.U.T. furiously rage together, statesmen are apt to shake in their august footwear, whether it be at Westminster or Whitehall or Spring Gardens. There is a tradition among political agents that the teachers' vote counts for a good deal. Not only is the N.U.T. probably the best organized Trade Union in the country, but the teacher is a very keen politician and a powerful canvasser. Strong majorities in the County Councils have ere now melted away at their battle cry. Hence it is unwise to ignore what they are thinking and saying . . . The N.U.T. is a body very powerful for good or evil. On the whole, it is generally on the side of light against darkness in education. It is to be devoutly hoped that it will not misuse its powers."

salaries for the guidance of the L.E.A.s and in advising on the principles upon which the scales should be constructed. The union soon went beyond circulating details of existing scales of salaries and formulated a standard scale of salaries for certificated teachers in primary schools.

To improve salaries in backward rural areas the union adopted the procedure of paying the removal expenses of teachers in such areas. In preparing papers showing the scales of salaries enforced by every authority, the N.U.T. had the definite intention of showing "employers" that if the authority were not prepared to pay at least a respectable wage, the teachers would without difficulty move to other districts where the rate of remuneration would be higher. Attempts by adjacent L.E.A.s to combine to fix low salaries were in the main unsuccessful. The efforts of the union were, however, hampered by the existence of the mass of supplementary and acting teachers who were prepared to accept posts at almost any salary. During the period when there was some unemployment among certificated teachers, many authorities employed certificated teachers at the salaries usually paid to uncertificated teachers and there were various attempts made to lower salaries.

In 1907 the union was concerned in a prolonged and difficult dispute with the West Ham Council which had decided to lower the existing scale of salaries of its teachers. The union claimed that such action was a breach of agreement. The action of the Council was upheld in the courts and the union began to prepare for strike action.³³ It held public meetings and conferences in the Borough, "black-listed" the authority, began to withdraw teachers from the schools and threatened 200 resignations. Eventually, a conference was arranged between representatives of the West Ham Education Committee and of the N.U.T. and an honourable settlement was effected.

Towards the end of 1912, the increasing cost of living led to a widespread movement in the teaching profession corresponding to the unrest among the industrial workers. Attempts to economize at the expense of the teacher were giving place to agitations on the part of the teachers to secure more adequate salaries and better increments. A special Salaries Committee was set up in

³³ This was not the first time the teachers had taken strike action. The first teachers' strike was at Portsmouth in 1896.

1913 to "formulate and put into operation, a national campaign to secure the adoption of the Union Scale of Salaries". The salary campaign was carried out in two ways. Firstly, the committee directed and assisted the efforts of local associations in demanding increased salaries. Secondly, the N.U.T. invited ten national organizations of teachers (public, secondary, technical and elementary) to appoint delegates to meet representatives of the union. The Conference took place in October 1913, under the chairmanship of the President of the N.U.T. and passed a resolution, urging:

"That substantial proportions of any further grants of money to L.E.A.s . . . should be definitely assigned to the specific purpose of improving the staffing of schools and increasing the stipends of teachers".

In January 1914 an influential deputation was received by the President of the Board of Education. In a large number of localities salary scales were adopted or improved as a result of the campaign. It became increasingly obvious, however, that only a national scale of salaries backed by the resources of the State would answer the teachers' demands and increase the number of entrants to the profession.

The "Herefordshire Case" was the first occasion on which the N.U.T. resorted to strike action on a large scale. In 1910 the Herefordshire Authority passed a resolution to the effect that they could not see their way to establish a scale of salaries.³⁴ Representation by letter, by deputation and by interview having failed, the teachers in the county appealed to the executive of the N.U.T. to take strong action. In September 1913 a special committee was set up by the Herefordshire L.E.A. to ascertain whether the salaries paid were less than in other counties, and to report whether it was desirable that any alterations should be made in the method of payment. This Committee afterwards recommended the improvement of individual salaries here and there but decided against the establishment of a scale. The teachers did not regard this decision as satisfactory and the executive of the N.U.T. sent in the resignations of 130 teachers (nearly 240 had placed their resignations in the hands of the

³⁴ Herefordshire boasted that its education rate was the lowest in the kingdom (*The Schoolmaster*, 8 November, 1913).

union). On 1 February, 1914, more than sixty schools in the county were closed. Before all the notices expired, however, the intervention of the Bishop of Hereford led to a meeting between the authority's special committee and representatives of the teachers, but no agreement was reached.³⁵ Subsequently, negotiations of a private character took place and ultimately the two sides agreed on a scale which compared favourably with those in force in similar localities. The N.U.T. also secured the reinstatement of all teachers where no new permanent teachers had been brought in.³⁶

The "salary question" was now the most important problem facing the union. The President of the N.U.T., in his address to the 1914 Conference, quoted Board statistics to show that "at least 14,650 fully qualified teachers serving today in the nation's schools . . . cannot be said to be earning a living wage" and insisted that the Board should discover the way out of the difficulty. There were other difficulties which arose between the L.E.A.s and the teachers. Corporal punishment regulations, staffing, individual examination of scholars, the demand by some authorities that head teachers should send in private and confidential reports on the work of their assistants were continual sources of friction. In the case of West Ham and Hereford major clashes occurred: there was much bad feeling, too, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Durham, Norfolk, Brighton and Hove, Aberdare, Swansea, Glamorgan and Cosely. The N.U.T. developed a technique for dealing with these disputes. A Local Committee would be set up consisting of local members and members of the national executive. Questionnaires would be circulated to teachers, public meetings held and interest aroused and finally an influential deputation would visit the Education Committee of the Local Authority. Usually this procedure, backed up by the threat of strike action, would be sufficient to gain the union its ends.

By 1914 the union had more than recovered its pre-1902 influence. It had driven Morant from office and the new Permanent

³⁵ Negotiations were hampered in the beginning by the refusal of the Herefordshire Education Committee to recognize the N.U.T. executive as representing the Herefordshire teachers.

³⁶ The Herefordshire Authority had attempted to secure teachers to take the place of those who had resigned, but without much success. Throughout the strike the teachers' position was supported by the national Press, the managers of the local "non-provided" schools, the Board of Education, the working-class movement and even the schoolchildren (who refused to be taught by "blacklegs").

Secretary (Selby-Bigge) had adopted a policy of conciliation and consultation. The executive could report that "relations with the Board of Education have become cordial and co-operative again: and in other ways the proper influence of the Union has been extended and progress made".³⁷ In the political sphere, the union seemed to be moving more and more into the general working-class movement. The secondary teacher, were beginning to lose their fear of being swallowed up by the N.U.T. and it was possible to hope for a "united front" of teachers' organizations. For the profession as a whole it was obvious that only an increase in the salary and status of the teacher could solve the recruitment problem.

³⁷ *N.U.T. Report*, 1913, Executive Report, p. xlv.

For Selby-Bigge's views on consultation see A. Selby-Bigge, *The Board of Education*, 1934, pp. 275-9; *Times Educational Supplement*, 29 July, 1951, Letter from Spencer-Leeson.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE PROFESSION AND THE UNION 1914-44

"In 1950 the Department attained the fiftieth year of its age, and this Report passes in review some of the events and traces some of the developments that have marked its progress from the beginning of the century to the end of 1950. It is the story of a progressive partnership between the Central Department, the Local Education Authorities and the teachers."

George Tomlinson.¹

The Union and the First World War

While the First World War did not involve the large-scale evacuation of children, it disrupted the work of the teachers in various other ways. It involved the withdrawal from the schools of over half the male teachers and many of the women teachers and the virtual cessation of the recruitment of men into the profession. To take their place, retired teachers, married women who had previously been teachers and even clergymen were encouraged to teach during the emergency. Many of the schools and training colleges were taken over for use as billets for the troops, hospitals, or for the accommodation of refugee children from the Continent. The strictly "educational" work of the schools suffered from the amount of time devoted to war savings, school gardens and allotments, the collection of wild fruits and horse chestnuts, and in the secondary schools the "O.T.C.". Lastly, there was an economy panic among some of the L.E.A.s and a tendency for employers (particularly farmers) to demand the release of children from school to aid the war effort.

It became obvious to the N.U.T. in the first few months of the war that the diversion of educational effort had gone too far. It urged the necessity of retaining a reasonable proportion of male teachers in the schools, of making use of every available qualified teacher before taking on untrained teachers, of maintaining the school leaving age in rural areas, of continuing the existing provision of higher education and of not neglecting the feeding and

¹ In his introduction to the *Report of the Ministry of Education for 1950*. B.P.P., 1950-51, XI.

medical treatment of the children. On 30 December, 1915, an important conference of L.E.A.s, teachers' organizations, educational associations and working-class groups was held at the N.U.T. office to urge these points upon the government. Throughout the war, the union continued to fight the battle for "education as usual" against the opposition of those who wished to save the rates and taxes and preserve 'business as usual'. The N.U.T. was also represented on the "War Emergency Workers' National Committee", a body which included representatives of the Labour Party, General Federation of Trade Unions and the Co-operative Union.² While pressing for "education as usual", the profession and the union contributed their utmost towards the war effort.

The Setting up of the Burnham Committees

The war had accentuated the gravity of the problem of the supply of teachers. In spite of a slight increase in the number of intending teachers³ and a decrease in the wastage of pupil-teachers and bursars (due to improved teaching in the secondary schools), the number in 1915 was insufficient to replace ordinary wastage, still less to make up the arrears of past years, or to provide for improvements in the number of children attending school. The Board of Education saw no hope of meeting this shortage "except by a general improvement in the prospects of the teaching profession" If the Board had been forced to this conclusion by the shortage of entrants, the teachers for their part were growing increasingly restive. The pre-war salary campaign had improved teachers' salaries in 149 out of 325 E.A. areas. The success which had attended the campaign represented an increased annual expenditure of many thousands of pounds on teachers' salaries but, apart from this, the campaign had been valuable in leading public opinion to a knowledge of the inadequate remuneration received by teachers. Immediately following the outbreak of war, the executive decided to suspend the national campaign on salaries "believing that to continue it would be both unpatriotic and selfish". There were then anticipations of extensive unemployment, but as the war progressed it was seen that far from there being distress and want, there had been

¹ S. and B. Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism*, 1920, p. 691.

² B. Webb, *Diaries, 1912-1924*, 1952, pp. 45-6.

³ From 4588 in 1912-13 to 6096 in 1915-16.

systematic, regular and well-paid employment for all grades of workers. In practically every occupation wages were considerably increased; overtime was the rule in most industries and war bonuses were generally conceded. Many L.E.A.s were able to reduce their education rates and of the others only a small group were compelled to increase them. Faced with a rapidly rising cost of living and growing discontent among the rank and file, the N.U.T. executive first wavered and then in July 1916 decided to re-open the salary campaign in all areas.

The local associations entered into negotiations with their employers and when these failed strike action was threatened. In October 1916, the N.U.T. executive resolved to "initiate and develop a national movement to secure an immediate and substantial increase on salaries". Two months later, it urged the Board of Education to "publicly express its approval of the scale of salaries adopted by the union", to "require . . . L.E.A.s (to) put into operation the full union's salary scale" and to "procure and administer increased immediate grants to L.E.A.s sufficient to cover an immediate increase of salary". Faced with the imminent breakdown of the educational system due to the shortage of teachers and the growing agitation of the teachers themselves, the government was forced to take action. By a Minute dated 18 April, 1917, the Board prescribed regulations for supplementary grants to L.E.A.s to assist them in improving the salaries of teachers. The regulations provided that the Board

- "might prescribe minimum rates for the salaries of teachers, and after due notice may make it a condition of the supplementary grant that the salaries paid by the authority throughout its area shall comply therewith".

In answer to a question in the House of Commons, on 8 May, 1917, the President of the Board (Mr. H. A. L. Fisher) announced that he contemplated prescribing minimum salaries for certificated male teachers of £100, for certificated female teachers of £90 and for uncertificated teachers of £65.

In June 1917, Fisher appointed a departmental committee to inquire "into the principles which should determine the construction of scales of salary for teachers in elementary schools" which took a great deal of evidence and reported in February 1918.⁴

⁴ See B.P.P., 1917-18, XI; 1918, IX.

Between 1917 and 1919 unrest among the teachers increased and militant action was taken in thirty-two areas. In the Rhondda, led by a young class teacher (W. G. Cove, later a N.U.T. President and Member of Parliament), the class teachers called an unofficial strike without sustentation pay, obtained full backing from all local teachers and forced the N.U.T. executive to support them. They sent representatives to London to lobby H. A. L. Fisher and the Prime Minister and after a month secured the N.U.T. basic scale in their area. This victory doubled their salaries and a wave of strikes seemed impending.

H. A. L. Fisher was faced with a grave shortage of teachers at a time when more teachers were urgently needed to implement the 1918 Education Act. He was aware that the teachers themselves were warning off entrants. He wished to raise the standard of the profession and attract men of scholarship and ability into it. He was impressed also by the scandalously low salaries teachers were receiving in many areas and by the consequent maldistribution of teaching power throughout the country. Of equal or even greater concern was the significance of the deep unrest among teachers and the increasing militancy of the profession. As W. G. Cove wrote in 1931, Fisher "saw clearly enough that an under-paid, restless, resentful teaching profession was a menace to the stability of the State. He knew that teachers possessed a power in the community that would make itself felt."⁵ Mr. Fisher was not the only politician to realize the significance of the European revolutions of 1917 onwards. As in 1848 "at the head of every continental revolutionary movement, or near the head of it, stands an ex-teacher".⁶

A solution had to be found on a national scale. Fisher considered the possibility of making teachers civil servants, but "the policy disclosed such a prospect of danger to educational freedom and to a wholesome variety of experimentation, such a menace to local responsibility and so formidable an accretion of work and power to the Board at Whitehall that I dismissed it from my mind".⁷ In June 1919 the Association of Education Committees (A.E.C.) at its Annual General Meeting, called upon Fisher to "bring into being a mechanism for the settlement of the salary problem in the schools on a national basis". A meeting of

⁵ *The Schoolmaster*, 14 May, 1931.

⁶ *The Schoolmaster*, 9 March, 1923.

⁷ H. A. L. Fisher, *An Unfinished Autobiography*, 1940, p. 97.

teachers' representatives and L.E.A. representatives was held at the Board of Education on 25 July, 1919, and, after two months of negotiations, Fisher, on 12 September, established the "Standing Joint Committee on a Provisional Minimum Scale of Salaries for Teachers in Public Elementary Schools". The Committee was composed of equal numbers of representatives from the L.E.A.s and the N.U.T. and its object was "to secure the orderly and progressive solution of the salary problem in public elementary schools by agreement, on a national basis, and its correlation with a solution of the salary problem in secondary schools". Committees were also set up to deal with teachers in secondary schools and technical schools. The elementary committee presented its proposals for a "provisional minimum scale of salaries" on 21 November, 1919, and the proposals were accepted by an overwhelming majority at a special N.U.T. conference. The L.E.A.s, with a few exceptions, also adopted the provisional minimum scale within a comparatively short time of its issue.⁸ The elementary committee continued its work by laying down four "standard scales" on 30 September and 16 December, 1920, and allocating the scales to the various areas on 25 April, 1921.

There is a general belief that the Burnham scales (so called after Lord Burnham, the first chairman of the committee) improved the economic position of the teaching profession. The truth is that the provisional minimum scale, recommended when the cost of living was about 125 per cent above pre-war, on a rough average doubled the pre-war pay of assistant teachers and more than doubled that of head teachers. When the recommendations were made for the standard scales, the cost of living was 164 per cent above pre-war, and the standard scales meant extra remuneration to elementary teachers of 159 per cent above the pre-war average.⁹ The teachers were, if anything, slightly worse off in real terms than they had been before the war and the standard scales were only adopted at a special conference of the N.U.T. on 6 November, 1920, by 64,982 votes to 37,547. The teachers, however, refused a scale based on the cost of living and thus gained from the fall in prices from 1921 onwards.

⁸ The only areas where the teachers had to apply pressure were Breconshire, Newcastle-under-Lyme, the Isles of Scilly (all settled by negotiation), Worcestershire (settled after strike notices had been handed in) and the Isle of Man (after strike notices) (*N.U.T. Report, 1921, p. lvii*).

⁹ *B.P.P., 1930-1, XVI, Report of the Committee on National Expenditure.*

Of greater importance in increasing the attractions of the profession was Mr. Fisher's Superannuation Act of 1918. The 1898 Act had offered a contributory deferred annuity scheme. The "Elementary School Teachers (Superannuation) Act" of 1912 had made the government scheme slightly more attractive and many local authorities allowed teachers to participate in their local superannuation schemes. The Act of 1918 introduced a generous non-contributory scheme whose general effect was to pension certificated and uncertificated teachers in elementary schools and teachers in grant-aided places of higher education on terms which closely resembled those which had hitherto been applied to civil servants. The main flaw was that the "Old Guard" were left out of the Act and the N.U.T. opened a Thanks-Offering Fund (which collected over £100,000) to care for the men who had fought the long battle for superannuation in the nineteenth century.

The Profession in 1920

It is interesting to look at the profession in 1920 and to see to what extent the traditional problems and grievances that had given the N.U.T. its dynamic were still present.¹⁰ While the proportion of uncertificated teachers was falling, the profession had still not gained control over the means of entrance. A Teachers' Registration Council had been set up but this had no influence over entry and fear of dilution was prevalent especially in the period during and after the war. Promotion to the Inspectorate was now assured¹¹ and through the influence of the N.U.T. on the Education Department, a teacher who considered himself wronged by an inspector was sure of a hearing. The union was still pressing for a statutory appeal tribunal to consider cases where cancellation or suspension of certificate was the penalty.¹² The new superannuation scheme, as we have seen, was extremely favourable.

¹⁰ See Chapter VIII.

¹¹ In 1913, the "Junior Inspectors" were replaced by a new class of "Assistant Inspectors" recruited from experienced elementary school teachers with at least eight years' teaching experience (preference being given to candidates who had acted as head teacher). The maximum age for appointment was forty-five (subsequently raised to fifty).

¹² The matter was to be brought up again in the "Towers Case", 1927-9. John Towers had his certificate withdrawn by the Board of Education for caning two children in the canteen. The N.U.T. took up his case and the appeal procedure was improved as a result of its protests.

While "payment by results" was a thing of the past, the mid-twenties saw a movement among the L.E.A.s to return to an external examination system.¹³ This caused a great deal of ill-feeling between the A.E.C. and the N.U.T. In his Presidential Address of 1927, Frederick Mander appealed for co-operation between the two associations. His appeal was met by the A.E.C. and a Joint Advisory Committee was set up to consider the function of examinations in public elementary schools. This committee was the beginning of the partnership of the A.E.C. and the N.U.T.

Tenure problems were as numerous as ever, but were being settled increasingly by private negotiations rather than by public action. The machinery which L.E.A.s had set up for dealing with charges and complaints against teachers had practically done away with glaring cases of injustice and capricious dismissals. Disputes between teachers and managers were dealt with by mediation and when this failed, a full inquiry would be held by the L.E.A. with the teacher being represented by counsel. For the most part, the union and the L.E.A.s worked together and it was not at all unusual for local authorities to invoke the aid of the N.U.T. in dealing with problems of re-organization which threatened teachers in their employ. The older forms of compulsory extraneous duties had disappeared, but at the same time there grew up new forms of duties connected with the social services. With the growth of school feeding of necessitous children and the formation of boot clubs, old clothes clubs, breakfast clubs and dinner clubs, teachers were becoming concerned increasingly with the question: "How far may they gratify their natural desire (as human beings) to help the poor and comfort the miserable without, at the same time, mortgaging their professional interests?"¹⁴

While the profession was dissatisfied with the Burnham scales,

¹³ This movement was associated with the need for selection for secondary education.

¹⁴ *The Schoolmaster*, 21 January, 1911. It must be pointed out that London teachers had pioneered the provision of school meals. Mrs. E. M. Burgwin (headmistress of Orange Street School, superintendent of Special Schools under the London School Board and the first woman member of the N.U.T. executive) started voluntary feeding of school children as early as 1882 and the "Penny Dinner" movement was started by teachers and managers. The movement for clothing poor children was also due to Mrs. Burgwin.

For a description of the early school meals movement see Charles Morley, *Studies in Board Schools*, 1897, pp. 35-50. "A Little Dinner in the Borough".

the salary problem had moved from the realms of local caprice and individual squabbling to a national bargaining board.

The achievement of the major aims of the union meant a change in the relationships between the teachers, the L.E.A.s and the Board of Education. We have already mentioned the co-operation between the L.E.A.s and the N.U.T. which was to increase steadily from 1920 onwards. The habit of consultation on salaries and tenure problems was extended to other fields. The fact that many Directors of Education and L.E.A. inspectors had been elementary school teachers and N.U.T. members helped in bringing teachers and employers closer together.¹⁵ Under H. A. L. Fisher and A. Selby-Bigge, the relations between the N.U.T. and the Education Department were extremely cordial. The tradition of co-operation was continued by Selby-Bigge's successors and the "friendly and conspiratorial" triumvirate of Sir Percival Sharp (Secretary of the A.E.C. 1925-45), Sir Maurice Holmes (Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education 1936-45) and Sir Frederick Mander (General Secretary of the N.U.T. 1931-47) was to do great things for English education.

The union itself was still growing although its internal structure was weakened by some secessions. In 1918 its membership was over 100,000 and by 1920 the decision of the 1919 Conference to admit uncertificated teachers had brought in 11,000 new members.¹⁶ The union was also strengthened by the scheme of joint membership with the London Teachers' Association which became effective in 1922. The "National Association of Non-Collegiate Certificated Teachers" dissolved in 1921 and the religious tension had died down. In the political field, an important decision was taken when, on a referendum, the union decided by 29,743 votes to 15,434 against alliance with the

¹⁵ For example, Marshall Jackman (twice President of the N.U.T., later inspector under the L.C.C.), G. A. Christian, A. R. Pickles and Spurley Hey. Sir Percival Sharp (the leader of the L.E.A. panel on the Burnham Committee) had also been a teacher and a member of the N.U.T.

¹⁶ The decision to admit uncertificated teachers had been hotly contested and the resolution was only passed by 35,514 votes to 30,695. The bulk of the uncertificated teachers at first remained outside the N.U.T. and many were members of the "National Union of School Teachers" which in 1921 had some 14,000 members. The union was almost completely feeble and was affiliated to the T.U.C. Its representatives used the T.U.C. congress to make attacks on the "National Union of Certificated Teachers". As the N.U.T. showed its determination to raise the status of the uncertificated teacher, the membership of the N.U.S.T. shrank, although it continued to exist until the death of its founder in 1945.

Labour Party. In 1922 some Labour members of the union formed a "Teachers' Labour League".¹⁷ Other signs of a movement to the left were the growing militancy of the National Federation of Class Teachers (always the "left wing of the teaching profession"), the formation of a small "National Association of Primary School Teachers" at Birmingham affiliated to the T.U.C., and a left-wing "Young Teachers' Movement".¹⁸

The question of "equal pay" had become more important during the war. It had been defeated at the conferences of 1917 and 1918 but a referendum held in 1919 had approved the principle by 35,004 votes to 15,039 while a referendum in the L.T.A. supported equal pay by 6209 to 3595. The women members were accused of bad faith in "rushing" through equal pay while so many men were absent with the forces. At a stormy meeting of the L.T.A., some 1500 men teachers broke away to form the "London Schoolmasters' Association" as a branch of the "National Association of Men Teachers".¹⁹ The Burnham standard scales did not include the principle of equal pay and the more militant women teachers accused the N.U.T. of betraying its principles. The National Union of Women Teachers increased its membership particularly in London. Between 1919 and 1922 the National Association of Schoolmasters (the N.A.M.T. had changed its title in 1920) moved further and further away from the N.U.T. and seceded completely in October 1922 by forbidding its members to be members of the N.U.T.

The years from 1919 to 1924 also saw a new generation taking control of the union. Among the leaders of this militant "forward movement" were M. Conway (President 1924), S. Blake (later Deputy Secretary), W. G. Cove (President 1922 and Member of Parliament), D. Edwards (President 1936), W. W. Hill (President 1928 and Editor of *The Schoolmaster*), F. Mander (President 1927 and General Secretary) and Leah Manning (President 1930

¹⁷ In 1917 there had been a "Teachers' Labour Party". In 1927 the Teachers' Labour League split on the issue of communist domination and the Labour supporters formed a "National Association of Labour Teachers". This was also infiltrated by communists but the Labour members succeeded in regaining control (see *The Schoolmaster*, 10 November, 1917, 6 January, 1927, 16 May, 1940).

¹⁸ The war and the consequent inflation also left behind a "National Association of Ex-Service Teachers" and a "National Association of Retired Teachers".

¹⁹ The first men's association appears to have been founded in Cardiff in 1913.

and Member of Parliament).²⁰ The "forward movement" tended to be left wing or Liberal in politics and included a large proportion of nonconformists.

In the early 1920's, then, it appeared that the union's first period of struggle was over. The profession still had its aspirations but it was felt that these should be sought in co-operation with the L.E.A.s and the Board rather than by campaigning and agitation. The new leaders of the union desired to concentrate on the necessary reforms of education—for example, the need to raise the school leaving age and to provide secondary education for all.

The N.U.T., which had been founded and had developed in an atmosphere of struggle, had to accustom itself to the new environment of co-operation and partnership. The transformation was rendered more difficult by the intermittent spasms of economic crisis and educational economy of the twenties and thirties but the direction of change never altered.

On two occasions during the inter-war years, the union was forced to devote all its energies to a defence of the schools and the teachers against those who wished to cut education ruthlessly.

Educational Economy and the N.U.T.

"The educational year which dawned full of hope is closing amidst doubt, uncertainty and some amount of gloom."

With these words, the N.U.T. President for 1921 commenced his address and he continued by declaring that "in many quarters the campaign for economy has become a campaign against education as such". In December 1920 the Select Committee on National Expenditure had attacked the "atmosphere of financial laxity in which questions involving education are apt to be considered". Mr. Fisher was informed by the Treasury that educational progress had to be suspended and the Board sent a circular to the L.E.A.s requesting them not to incur or commit themselves to incurring any new expenditure. The cry for economy in education grew louder during 1921. Deputations of drapers, grocers, furnishers and ironmongers waited upon members of the government to demand cuts in educational expenditure.

For a time it appeared as if the continued existence of the Burnham Committee was in danger. A letter from Mr. Fisher to

* Other members of the movement were C. Barrass, J. H. Lumby, O. Papineau, W. L. Pierce, P. Matthews, S. Taylor and C. Williams.

Lord Burnham dated 24 December, 1920, had laid down many reservations on the times at which the new standard scales were to come into effect and the "carry-over" which should be allowed to attach to the scales. The Board also announced that it would not be responsible for any additional expenditure by L.E.A.s that raised teachers' salaries prior to the Board's final decision on the Burnham Committee's Report. As many L.E.A.s had already raised teachers' salaries in anticipation of the acceptance of the Burnham scales, there was widespread panic. The Burnham Committee was only saved by the new-found unity of the teachers and the L.E.A.s. While a few authorities proposed to remain on the old provisional minimum scale or even to reduce salaries, the majority stood by the Burnham decisions.

The years 1921, 1922 and 1923 saw a series of attacks on teachers' salaries and pensions. On 4 February, 1921, the General Secretary of the N.U.T. received from the government a definite assurance that it did not propose to repudiate the payment of grants in respect of the salary scales. With that assurance and in the course of a prolonged interview it was suggested to the Secretary that it would be wise as well as patriotic if the teachers would decline to take the scale increment due in 1922-3, forego £5,000,000 of their present salary and consent to pay 5 per cent on salaries as a contribution to the cost of their pensions. On 6 February the N.U.T. (supported by the Secondary and Technical Associations) declined to adopt any of these suggestions. The next tentative proposal put forward by the government was the exclusion of children under six years of age from school but this aroused so much opposition from the teachers that it in turn was dropped. In spite of continued alarms the year 1921 passed without any cuts in salaries.

On 10 February, 1922, the first interim report of the Committee on National Expenditure (the Geddes Committee) was issued. It contained an attack on overspending in education and a series of suggestions for economy including a 5 per cent cut in teachers' salaries and the transfer of their pensions to a contributory scheme.²¹ The government decided to reject the proposals

²¹ They also suggested raising the school entry age to six, closing small schools, increasing size of classes and limiting expenditure on secondary and higher education (*see B.P.P.*, 1922, IX). In a later report the committee considered the increase in salaries of teachers and wrote that "it must be borne in mind that 'certificated' teachers who receive the highest salaries and who form the majority of the profession, have generally spent two years in

to raise the school entry age and cut the teachers' salaries. Teachers were to contribute 5 per cent of their salaries towards the superannuation fund and there were to be larger classes wherever possible. For several months a bitter campaign was waged in the Conservative Press and in Parliament against the "pretensions" of the teachers in daring to oppose cuts in education and in their salaries. The teachers, for their part, prepared for the struggle by doubling the N.U.T. subscription to build up a sustentation fund. On 9 May the School Teachers (Superannuation) Bill was introduced into the House of Commons. The union exerted all its influence in deputations, petitions, interviews and public meetings. On 14 and 15 May an important advertisement was published in the chief London Sunday, Monday morning and evening newspapers putting their case before the public.²²

On Tuesday, 16 May, the government was defeated by 151 votes to 148 on the second reading of the Bill. As a result, a select committee was set up

"to consider and report whether in fixing the present scales of salaries for teachers any undertaking by the Government, or Parliament, was given, or implied, that the provisions of the Teachers' Superannuation Act of 1918 should not be altered whilst those scales remained in force" (and) "to hear evidence and find a verdict on the point whether the teachers, in fact, accepted the Burnham scales because they understood that they were to have pensions on a non-contributory basis".

a training college largely at the expense of the public . . . Although the work may be exacting, the hours are short, the holidays long and the risk of unemployment slight."

"The advertisement was as follows

Bill 113

House of Commons, 1922

I certify that the existence of a non-contributory Superannuation System for Teachers was basic to the debate of the Burnham Committee on Teachers' Salaries, and part of the consideration which led the Teachers' Panel of the Committee, of which I was spokesman, to agree to the figures of the salary scales. Repeatedly, and recently, Ministers have said that not to honour payments according to those scales would be a breach of faith. By Bill 113, which is to levy 5 per cent of salary from teachers and from teachers only, the Government is asking Parliament to enact a breach of public faith, for salaries and pensions must necessarily be construed together as remuneration, and to tax one of them is to reduce the whole. A memorandum by the Association of Education Committees just issued contains the following word

"As regards the teachers too, it is only fair to recall statement . . . by the Burnham Committees, that the existence of the non-contributory pension scheme was borne in mind when the new Salary Scales were fixed."

17 May, 1922.

J. H. Yoxall.

The select committee heard evidence from representatives of the teachers and the L.E.A.s, from Lord Burnham and from H. A. L. Fisher. The whole direction of the evidence shows that the teachers had received an implied undertaking from the government and the Chairman (F. D. Acland) drafted a finding to that effect. This finding was voted down by four votes to three votes (one of the four being Lt.-Col. Hurst, who had not attended any of the committee's public sittings), and by the same margin a paragraph was adopted that

"no undertaking, either express or implied, was given by the Government or Parliament to the effect that the provisions of the Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1918, should not be altered while the present scale of salaries remain in force".²³

On Monday, 3 July, the second reading was carried by 210 votes to fifty-four and the Bill passed through both Houses with only minor amendments. The language of the teachers can only be compared to that used during the Revised Code controversy. They declared the Bill to be a "shameful betrayal" and accused the government of breaking its contract and forfeiting its honour.

Later in 1922, the teachers were approached through the Burnham Committee and asked if they would consent to a "voluntary" reduction of 5 per cent of their salaries for the financial year commencing 1 April, 1923. Faced with the threat of a more drastic compulsory reduction, the Union had no alternative but to accept and a Special Conference agreed reluctantly to the cut. The teachers did obtain an agreement that the reduction was only to apply to areas where the local authorities had put into force the Burnham standard scales. The union used all the pressure techniques at its disposal to counter the proposals put forward to limit the number of teachers, lower the qualifications of entrants or to limit the amount of money spent on higher education and the feeding of necessitous children. That its efforts were successful in saving education from further cuts is obvious by the bitterness of the attacks launched against elementary teachers and the N.U.T. by the "economy-minded" Press.²⁴

²³ B.P.P., 1922, VI, Report from the Select Committee on Teachers in Grant-Aided Schools (Superannuation).

²⁴ In particular the *Sunday Pictorial*, *The Times* and *Daily Mail*, e.g. "public opinion is deeply aroused by the rapacity of elementary school teachers, by their truculent and inflammatory methods of agitation, by their frequently unfortunate influence upon the young children committed to their care, and by their deliberate attempts to hold the community to ransom" (*Daily Mail*).

At the same time as the national campaign was being fought, the union was engaged in the most bitter strikes in its history. When the N.U.T. had agreed to the 5 per cent cut, the Burnham Committee had decided that it would not intervene with regard to authorities not paying their allotted scales but would leave the matter for settlement between the authority and the teachers concerned in each case. Early in 1923, in consequence of attempts in several areas to lower teachers' salaries, the executive adopted the principle that no "cut" should be accepted which would bring any teacher below his correct position on the existing scale. In fulfilment of this policy it was necessary to accept definite challenges in Southampton, Gateshead and Lowestoft. In Southampton the schools were closed for three and a half months, in Gateshead for two and a half months and in Lowestoft 163 teachers were out for eleven months and over 1600 children received special instruction from the "dismissed" teachers in welfare centres.²⁵

In January 1924 the first (Minority) Labour Government took office and Mr C. P. Trevelyan (President of the Board of Education) declared that one of the main objects of the Labour Government would be "to make another immediate and vigorous advance in the general scope of our educational system". The 1924 Conference of the N.U.T. thanked Trevelyan warmly for the change of policy and Sir James Yoxall was able to retire after guiding the union through the first era of educational reaction.²⁶ "Solid in numbers, resources and proven power the Union stands, though breathing hard after the struggle"²⁷

In October 1924 the Conservatives returned to power but Lord Eustace Percy (the new President) declared his intention of pursuing a policy of continuity in his administration at the Board. The next five years of Conservative Government saw a confused mixture of attempts at educational progress and sporadic attempts

²⁵ In both Southampton and Lowestoft, the final victory of the teachers was due to the intervention of the Board of Education.

²⁶ He was succeeded by Frank W. Goldstone, who had been a pupil-teacher and was trained at Borough Road. He had served eighteen years as a class teacher, had been President of the N.F.C.T. and founder and editor of *The Class Teacher*. He was a Labour M.P. for Sunderland, 1917-18, and Chief Labour Whip. He served as Assistant Secretary of the N.U.T. from 1920 to 1924 and he was General Secretary from 1924 to 1931. He was a member of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1929-31, and was knighted on his retirement from the N.U.T.

²⁷ *The Schoolmaster*, 29 February, 1924.

at educational economy. The movement to economize on teachers' salaries had been transferred to the Burnham Committee. The agreement was due to expire on 31 March, 1925, and from May to October 1924 prolonged secret negotiations took place in the Burnham Committee on the scales which should operate after that date. The L.E.A.s demanded a cut of 15 per cent in teachers' salaries (later reduced to 10 per cent), while the teachers demanded a continuance of the existing scale in full. It appeared that the Burnham machinery had broken down completely, but the matter was referred to Lord Burnham for arbitration, the teachers and the L.E.A.s binding themselves in advance to accept his findings. In March 1925 the findings were published. The salary Bill was to be reduced by under 1 per cent and the only concession the teachers were obliged to make was the institution of a "probationary" first year. With but few exceptions, the L.E.A.s adopted the scale of salaries allocated to them by Lord Burnham. The N.U.T., supported by the Burnham Committee, took action in every area where signs of hesitation were evinced by the L.E.A. In accordance with the terms of reference to arbitration, the Burnham Committee urged the President of the Board of Education to take action with regard to "defaulting" authorities.²⁸ After some hesitation, the Board, in February 1926, promulgated a most important regulation requiring L.E.A.s to pay the Burnham scales "except so far as the Board of Education specifically accept any variation from the award." The Burnham scales were now compulsory, the teachers had succeeded in stabilizing their real wages at a level far higher than pre-war and only one isolated and unsuccessful attempt has been made by a L.E.A. since 1926 to evade the agreement.²⁹ The Teachers' (Superannuation) Act of 1925 cleared away the doubts and fears consequent upon the 5 per cent "forced levy" on teachers' salaries. While the Board insisted upon the scheme remaining contributory, the Act embodied a great majority of the reforms desired by teachers. The N.U.T. was consulted by the Board

²⁸ Whereas forty-five authorities failed to adopt the standard scales allocated to them in 1921, only seven out of 318 refused to adopt the 1925 award. By March 1926 the number had been reduced to two (Carmarthen and Essex). Agreements were not reached with Essex until October 1926 and with Carmarthen until December 1927.

²⁹ For the story of the "Big Three of Abertillery", see *The Schoolmaster*, 9 February-10 May, 1928, and P. E. Watkins, *A Welshman Remembers*, 1944, pp. 174-8.

during the framing and passage of the Bill and the two union M.P.s (W. G. Cove and C. W. Crook) succeeded in getting all the vital N.U.T. amendments accepted by the House.

The changes in the recruitment and training of teachers during this period will be considered in Chapter XIII, but it is necessary to say something here of the supply of teachers. From 1919 onwards, the increased "attractions" of the profession and the increase in the number of secondary-school pupils led to an increase in the number of entrants. In the year 1919-20 recruitment, for the first time in many years, was sufficient to replace wastage and the number of entrants rose year by year.³⁹ In 1922 the pressure for economy led to some unemployment among newly qualified teachers. In February 1923, six months after the end of their course, there were between 500 and 600 of the 6250 students of the 1922 batch who had failed to obtain appointments. In November 1923 the number had fallen to rather more than 200, but by that time the 1923 batch had appeared and of the 6055 new teachers there were 1732 who had failed to obtain posts. The over-supply was especially marked in Wales. The N.U.T. urged the Board to make room for the unemployed teachers and itself paid unemployment benefit to the ex-students unable to obtain posts. After 1924, the unemployment in the profession disappeared, although there was some short-term unemployment incidental to the reorganization of the schools.

The award made by Lord Burnham in March 1925 was terminable at the end of any financial year after 31 March, 1931, by a year's notice given by either panel. On 19 March, 1931, the L.E.A.s' panel gave notice that the period of the award should terminate on 31 March, 1932. When the Burnham Committee met in May 1931, the authorities' panel demanded that the teachers should accept the principle of "a reasonable reduction in the aggregate amount of the teachers' salaries Bill" before further negotiations. The teachers refused to accept the imposition of a condition that a reduction in the teachers' salaries Bill must be effected and eventually as neither panel was willing to give way the committee adjourned *sine die*. Matters remained in this state until the end of July 1931 when the Committee on National Expenditure (the

³⁹ A scheme of special training for ex-servicemen brought 1000 entrants into the profession.

⁴⁰ The amount expended was: 1922, £480; 1923, £10,063; 1924, £7441, 1925, £1358 (*N.U.T. Reports*, 1922-6, Tenure Committee)

May Committee) published its report recommending a number of drastic economies in the education service. The important sections of the Majority Report on teachers read as follows:

151. As was pointed out by the Geddes Committee, the majority of the profession have acquired their qualifications largely at the expense of the public at an average cost to the State of £70 a year for either two or four years.

155. The indications . . . of the effect of change in the cost of living on teachers' salaries all point to a reduction in the neighbourhood of 30 per cent. Having regard to the practical difficulty of enforcing so large a reduction even though it may be justified, and to the gradual adjustment to a higher standard of living which must necessarily have followed the increasing purchasing power of their salaries, we cannot recommend so high a reduction. We feel, however, after balancing the relative claims of the teacher and the taxpayer and ratepayer that 20 per cent is the minimum reduction which should be made. We would point out that on the average as regards elementary teachers this cut would still leave them with more than double their pre-war remuneration. . . .³²

The Minority Report disagreed with the recommendations of the Majority and stated:

35. A fair examination of the whole position, with due regard to the "fair wages" principle would appear to justify consideration of an adjustment of teachers' salaries in the region of 12½ per cent. The actual figure, however, is one to be decided through the joint negotiating machinery existing for that purpose.³³

The union, led by its new General Secretary, Frederick Mander,³⁴ took every legitimate means within its power to oppose

³² *B.P.P.*, 1930-1, XVI.

The Report also demanded a halt in the process of educational expansion, a withdrawal of the special building grant, no further expansion of secondary education, higher fees and a rigorous means test in secondary schools and a cut in teachers' pensions.

³³ The Minority wrote that "we cannot persuade ourselves that the need for economy in expenditure is such that the nation would wish to raise the existing barrier of means which already completely shuts out from advanced educational opportunity all but a small proportion of children, or that any real or lasting economy is to be found in that direction. . . ."

³⁴ Frederick Mander was educated at the Higher Grade School, Luton, and Westminster Training College and is a graduate of the University of London with an external B.Sc. degree. He became a headmaster at Luton, was elected to the executive in 1922 and the Vice-Presidency in 1926. He led the teachers in the Lowestoft dispute. He was General Secretary of the N.U.T. from 1931 to 1947 and was knighted in 1938.

After retirement, he became Chairman of the Bedford County Council, a member of the executive of the A.E.C. and Vice-President of the National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales.

A Liberal in politics, Mander was a virile and dominant leader whose influence in the running of the union was as great as Yoxall's had been.

the reduction in teachers' salaries and in the educational services in general. The National Government decided upon a reduction of 15 per cent in teachers' salaries, but the joint protests of the teachers and the L.E.A.s forced the government to reconsider its plans and the cut actually imposed was 10 per cent, the entire amount saved going to the national exchequer. The union succeeded also in obtaining a pledge from the government that the cut was to be temporary and "was not to be regarded as the view of the government of what should be the proper rate of remuneration of teachers under less abnormal conditions". The Burnham Committee dissociated itself from the government's action by refusing to submit any scheme of salary adjustments and formally re-adopting the 1925 scale until 31 March, 1933. The teachers did not accept the cuts in salary and in educational expenditure with any feeling of meekness. They attacked the whole philosophy behind the May Report and the later reports associated with the names of Ray³⁵ and Rentoul.³⁶ They continued to believe that "they had been harshly and unjustly treated" and they persistently pressed for a restoration of the cuts.

While the teaching profession as a whole was spared the horrors of mass unemployment,³⁷ the new entrants to the profession, as in the early twenties, found it extremely difficult to obtain posts. In 1929, 1930 and 1931, an exceptional number of students had entered the training colleges in expectation of the raising of the school leaving age and the Board had provided a special grant of £70,000 per annum to the colleges to enable them to increase their accommodation. When the House of Lords, February 1931, rejected the proposal to raise the school leaving age there was acute apprehension of unemployment among the teachers. The Board encouraged L.E.A.s to use the forthcoming surplus of teachers to improve their staffing ratios and attempted to

³⁵ The Ray Report (*Report of the Committee on Local Expenditure, B.P.P., 1932-3, XIV*) was issued on 24 November, 1932. It recommended a general decrease in educational expenditure and biennial instead of annual increments of salary for teachers.

³⁶ The Rentoul Report (*Report of the Private Members of the House of Commons Economy Committee, 1932*) was issued on 18 November, 1932. It also recommended a general decrease in educational expenditure, declared that "expenditure on teachers' salaries has increased to a sum beyond the capacity of the country to bear" and recommended a direct cut in teachers' salaries.

³⁷ The number of teachers in public elementary schools rose steadily from 1929 to 1934.

reassure the teachers by suggesting that substantial progress was likely to be made in reorganization, school building and in the reduction of the size of classes and that therefore a substantially larger number of fully qualified teachers was likely to be employed. In autumn 1931 the economic crisis deepened and the Board stated that it contemplated "that existing facilities (including the number of teachers employed) should be generally maintained", but ruled out an increase in the number of teachers employed.

The Board tried to discourage students from entering the training colleges, but by September 1931 all the places were filled and very few of the accepted candidates were ready to withdraw. The Board therefore announced that it was going to regulate college admission for 1932-3 so that the total number of students in training would be 1200 less than in 1931-2. By 31 December, 1932, there were 1100 newly qualified teachers who were unemployed. Unemployment persisted among newly qualified teachers as late as 1938, being particularly rife among men teachers and in Wales. Once again the N.U.T. was forced to relieve distress among ex-training college students from its own funds. In face of this unemployment, the N.U.T. demanded a decrease in the size of classes, a prolongation of school life and an ending of any further recognition of supplementary and uncertificated teachers. Several local authorities attempted to reduce their establishments in the interests of economy and this further aggravated the unemployment problem among young teachers. The Board imposed a limit on the number of students in 1933 as well as in 1932. It also tried to reduce the number of training colleges, but this met with such fierce resistance from the Church that only one training college was in fact closed.

From 1932 onwards, as the economic situation brightened, the N.U.T. continued to press for a restoration of the salary cuts. The Burnham Committee met annually to continue the 1925 award for another twelve months and many L.E.A.s passed resolutions in support of the teachers' claims. On 1 July, 1934, half the salary cut was restored, and on 1 July, 1935, the other half. When the Burnham Committee met in October 1935 the teachers' panel put forward a demand for the elimination of the two lowest scales. In January 1936 the Burnham Committee abolished the lowest scale (Scale I) and decided to continue the other three scales until 31 March, 1939.

In 1938 a sub-committee of the N.U.T. executive was set up "to prepare a memorandum dealing with the reconstruction of the Burnham scales on the basis of union salary policy". The memorandum incorporated the principle of "the basic scale" which the N.F.C.T. had been attempting to impress on the N.U.T. since 1930. It laid down that

"the general principle underlying the existing salary policy of the union . . . salaries of teachers should depend upon qualification, length of service and special responsibility, and not upon the sex of the teacher or the type of school or area in which service is rendered. . . . The Union looks forward to the day when all teachers will be graduates, educated not as a class apart, but in free contact with entrants to other professions and walks of life. This aim governs salary policy, which as a necessary corollary postulates emoluments of professional dimensions, which will not be subject to variations on account of non-professional grounds."

The memorandum was sent to the authorities' panel with the invitation to join the teachers' panel "in a friendly discussion of the issues which the memorandum appeared to raise". The authorities accepted, but discussion was interrupted by the outbreak of war

The Rise in the Teachers' Status

During the period between the wars, it is possible to trace a rise in the social status of the teaching profession. Such indices as the growing number of teachers or ex-teachers who were chosen as candidates for municipal or parliamentary office, the increasing number of teacher magistrates and the more favourable references to teachers in the popular Press³³ can be taken as evidence of the rise in status of the profession. This was the result of many factors, and among these the most important was the ability of the profession to preserve its salaries almost intact in a period of falling prices. During the thirties the profession was more remunerative than ever before and most of the older teachers look back to this time with nostalgia. Secondly, one must put the freedom of the teachers from mass unemployment and the continuing effects of the success of the N.U.T. in freeing the profession from the humiliating insecurities connected with low salaries, no

³³ However, the two economy crises had both led to a series of attacks on the teachers for interfering in politics. The *Daily Mail*, in particular, was notorious for its attacks on teachers.

retiring pension, insecurity of tenure, compulsory extraneous duties, a barring from the higher posts in the profession and constant supervision. There was a change in the background of the majority of the profession as the older teachers who had entered through pupil-teachership were replaced by entrants from the grammar schools. The social origins of the old and the new teachers were almost identical, but the new teachers possessed more of the marks of middle-class "culture". In addition there was an increasing proportion of trained teachers and graduates among the elementary teachers and a decline in the proportion of uncertificated and supplementary teachers.³⁹ Again, there was the growing influence of the N.U.T. in Parliament, in the L.E.A.s and on the Board of Education. The triple partnership of the N.U.T., the A.E.C. and the Board was made stronger through the increasing unity of educational purpose in the late thirties. The status of the teacher also improved in public estimation with the changing nature of the work. With the ending of payment by results the school had become a happier place for children and teachers. The amount of corporal punishment had diminished considerably and the new teaching methods had brought a new spirit into the schools. Lastly, there was an increase in the status of education itself. The realization of the importance of education both to the nation as a whole and to the individual child in enabling him to secure a good position in life meant a realization of the importance of the individual teacher.

The Second World War

The full value of the partnership between the Board, the L.E.A.s and the teachers was shown during the Second World War. On 1 September, 1939, there began "the greatest educational retreat that Britain has ever known: a retreat which for a while threatened to deteriorate into a rout: even, conceivably, to end in the complete disintegration of the education services".⁴⁰ It was only the devoted co-operation of the administrators and the teachers that prevented the retreat from becoming a rout.

The first great problem was that of evacuation. The N.U.T.

³⁹ During the twenties and thirties many graduates had been forced into the elementary schools at elementary school rates of pay. In July 1935, for example, 1721 students completed approved courses of training at University and University College Training Departments. By June 1937, 457 had secured secondary school posts and 754 elementary school posts.

⁴⁰ H. C. Dent, *Education in Transition*, 1944, p. 1

had aided in preparing plans beforehand and during evacuation it acted as a clearing house for information. Professor Lester-Smith has stressed that what success evacuation had, was due largely to the confidence of the parents in the teachers under whose charge children set off to their various unknown destinations.⁴¹ There was much muddle at first and as soon as some order had been established the children began drifting back to the towns. Naturally enough in such a major upheaval there emerged new sources of tension. There was friction between the evacuated teachers and the teachers in the reception areas, between the teachers who had been evacuated and those who had remained behind and between the administrators and individual teachers. While these grievances existed, and still rankle, it is easy to allow them to obscure the great achievements of the teachers and administrators.

The N.U.T. spent all its efforts on the two-fold task of giving guidance and help to the teachers and of "stimulating educational facilities." The problems of tenure, salaries, pensions, holidays, billeting allowances, legal responsibilities, extraneous duties, the position of head teachers and the need for new sub-associations were the most difficult the union had ever faced. Some local administrators (and in particular those who had been appointed at the outbreak of war with little experience of education) found it difficult to co-operate with the teachers and union officials and there were mutual accusations of selfishness and "little Hitlerism". The N.U.T., while stressing that its only policy was service to the nation, found it necessary to prevent the undue exploitation of the teachers which could have led to the breakdown of the educational system.

The N.U.T. was resolved not to commit the same mistake as in the First World War and pressed for a war bonus as soon as the cost of living began rising steeply. A war bonus was agreed upon in 1940 and another (with some difficulty) in 1941. Some local authorities refused to pay and at first it appeared as if the teachers were excluded from using the National Arbitration Tribunal. The N.U.T. threatened strikes and the Board put pressure on the recalcitrant authorities to conform. The N.U.T. black-listed four authorities, but major trouble was prevented by a decision of the House of Lords that disputes between teachers and an L.E.A.

⁴¹ W. O. Lester-Smith, *The Teacher and the Community*, 1950, p. 11.

could be reported to the Ministry of Labour with a view to settlement by arbitration if conciliation failed. The union was thus enabled to take Worthing L.E.A. before the National Arbitration Tribunal to obtain a war bonus. Another was granted in 1943 after a disagreement on the Burnham Committee and resource to arbitration. There were also difficulties with over fifteen authorities who refused to make a satisfactory use of their powers to make up differences between service pay and salary in the case of teachers on war service.

During the years of disintegration from 1939 to 1941, the work of the N.U.T. in stimulating the Board to further exertions was of the utmost importance. It insisted that schools should be re-opened in the evacuating areas as soon as possible, that school shelters and a warning system should be installed in every school opened in an evacuating area and that compulsory attendance should be brought back as soon as possible. It helped the Board to re-establish the dental and medical services and to provide the milk and meals service. The war set the seal on the partnership between the teachers and the two branches of the administration. Intimate and continuous contact between the officials in a common cause was continued into the peace.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE TEACHERS AND THE ACT OF 1944

"The teachers in the schools . . . want a general educational advance. They know that this can only come with the achievement of a national system of schools within which the local authorities can provide, maintain, re-group, re-organize, close or replace and generally control all the schools and teaching staffs in their respective areas. They see no reason whatsoever why the Archbishops and their Anglican colleagues should continue to call the tune in schools maintained, although not provided, by the local authorities, and in addition, with the help of Free Churchmen, call the tune in the schools both provided and maintained out of public money."

Sir Frederick Mander ¹

Religious Controversy and the Teachers

Looked at in retrospect, the great achievement of the Education Act of 1944, as of the Education Act of 1902, was its re-organization of the system of secondary education. The major focus of conflict, however, in the early 1940's, as in the late 1890's, was on the reform of the voluntary system. Agreement was reached comparatively quickly on the need to raise the school leaving age and to provide secondary education for all. But in the prolonged negotiations before the Bill was presented to Parliament, the Churches and the teachers clashed violently. The position of the N.U.T. is understandable in the light of the history of the union. The union was founded on the basis of the religious agreement of 1870 and of the Cowper-Temple clause. It was resolved to maintain that basis and to fight against any increased control by the clergy or any attempt to impose religious tests on teachers. For its own part it demanded that any further public aid to the non-provided schools should involve an extension of public control.

The N.U.T. was forced to assert its principles continually during the period between 1902 and 1944. It played an important part in blocking the Education Bill of 1908 which allowed the clergyman right of entry and permitted denominational teaching

¹ *The Schoolmaster*, 29 January, 1942.

by council school teachers. H. A. L. Fisher, in his Education Act of 1918, deliberately avoided reviving the old religious controversies. His Bill was warmly supported by the teachers and he was later to state in his autobiography that with the exception of the N.U.T. representatives, he had received little vocal support from the Labour Party.²

Unfortunately, the Fisher Act was emasculated by the post-war depression. The building of the system of continuation schools, which was to crown the elementary system, was brought to an end by Circular 1190 and the teachers were forced to fight to preserve the educational structure against the economists. Among the achievements of the Fisher Act, however, was the abolition of the "half-time" system against which the N.U.T. had fought for many years.³

As the depression lifted, there was renewed pressure from the N.U.T. to raise the school leaving age. This would increase still further the burden on the non-provided schools and the denominationalists demanded further State aid and an extension of denominational teaching to all provided schools. In 1925 *The Schoolmaster* warned the country that "the teaching profession will not consent to any system that involves religious tests as a condition of promotion . . . The teachers want to be left alone to do their best within the terms of the Cowper-Temple Clause of the Act of 1870."

In 1929 Sir Charles Trevelyan introduced a Bill to raise the school leaving age to fifteen from 1 April, 1931. The Bill immediately ran into trouble from the denominationalists who complained that they had not the funds to carry out the re-organization and supply the new buildings. The denominationalists were also pressing once again for an extension of denominational teaching to council schools. In January 1930 a special conference of the N.U.T. passed a resolution that:

"This conference calls attention to the interference which is being attempted by religious bodies with the work of teachers in provided schools, and to the attacks which are being made upon the Cowper-Temple clause. Conference therefore instructs the Executive to

² H. A. L. Fisher, *An Unfinished Autobiography*, 1940, p. 110.

³ R. Waddington (President of the N.U.T., 1898) had devoted his life to the abolition of the "half-time" system. A statuette of a "half-timer" still stands on the desk of the General Secretary of the N.U.T. in memory of the struggle.

resist any attempt by religious bodies to participate in the control of religious instruction in provided schools."

Unlike 1902, the great majority of the union were of one mind on the religious question, the only dissent coming from a numerically insignificant group of Catholic teachers. In spite of great pressure from the N.U.T. the Bill was withdrawn in May 1930. A second was introduced which would have enabled the local authorities to aid the re-organization of the voluntary schools but this Bill lapsed through the ending of the parliamentary session before it could be discussed.

Next session a third Bill was introduced which evaded the issue of the voluntary schools and concentrated on the raising of the leaving age. The Bill was fiercely resisted by the representatives of the voluntary schools, in particular by the Catholics, one of whom called the Bill "the illegitimate offspring of the N.U.T.". In the Commons a Roman Catholic M.P., Mr. John Scurr, proposed a successful amendment that the Act should not come into operation until another Act had been passed enabling building grants to be made to the voluntary schools. As *The Schoolmaster* wrote, "an educational reform of far-reaching benefit and long overdue has been imperilled by the revival of sectarian controversy". A month later the Lords rejected the Bill by 168 votes to 22.

For the next two years the N.U.T. was too concerned with staving off the attacks of May, Ray and Rentoul to devote much attention to educational reform. As the depression lifted from 1933 onwards, it was possible once more to press for the raising of the school leaving age. On 21 February, 1935, an influential deputation from the School Age Council waited on the Prime Minister. The deputation was headed by the Archbishop of York and was composed of prominent leaders of the Churches, industry, the I.E.A.s, the N.U.T. and the working-class movement. The Prime Minister, in replying to the deputation, said that he had the most lively recollections of the attempt made by a previous government to tackle these questions and that he would only be prepared to proceed if a concordat had been reached between the denominationalists, the local authorities and the teachers.

By the beginning of 1936 the government was prepared to propose legislation to extend school life and provide better schools. The Bill, when it was published, had the distinction of

commanding neither the whole-hearted support nor the whole-hearted opposition of educationists. The teachers welcomed the enactment of the age of fifteen as the school leaving age and the spirit of compromise between the religious bodies which had rendered the Bill possible, but they were disappointed with the provisions for exemptions from school attendance on the grounds of "beneficial" employment.

The union and the A.E.C. combined to press for amendments to the Bill to remove the exemption clauses and provide maintenance allowances to enable necessitous children to continue in attendance at school. At the same time, the Church of England began to put forward extended claims in breach of the settlement which had previously been reached on the religious question.^{*} It pressed for the repeal of the Cowper-Temple Clause and objected to the section of the Education Bill which increased the control of the local authorities over the appointment and dismissal of teachers. The N.U.T. warned the Church that it would "not stand idly by and watch a further encroachment of the Churches into council school territory". The Bill survived the House of Commons practically unaltered, the government giving way neither on the beneficial employment clauses nor the clauses relating to building grants for non-provided schools. A last attempt by the House of Lords to amend the Bill favourably to the Church was also rejected by the Commons.

While the religious difficulty appeared to have been solved on a national level, it still remained acute locally. The union was forced to resist local attempts to interfere with the conduct and control of religious instruction inside the provided schools. The introduction of "agreed syllabuses" from 1924 onwards had also created problems. The union insisted that the teachers should be consulted in the drawing up of a syllabus, that it should be suggestive only and that the teacher's right to adopt his own syllabus should remain unimpaired. It was firmly opposed to the examination or inspection of religious instruction by outside bodies and ministers of religion. In pursuance of "its historic role in opposition to the entanglement of teachers in council schools in any

^{*} The proposals in the Bill in connection with the giving of grants for non-provided school buildings were based on an agreement reached on 14 January, 1931, between representatives of the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church, the Free Churches, the local authorities and the teachers.

See *The Schoolmaster*, 29 March, 1936.

form of denominational religious instruction", the union resisted the scheme of the Blackpool L.E.A. under which the teachers would take their children to church on six chosen days in the year and of the Denbighshire L.E.A. to investigate the religious beliefs of candidates for appointment.

The Union and "Secondary Education for All"

It is not necessary to trace in detail the elusive concept of "secondary education for all" through the educational literature.⁵ As we have seen, it was present implicitly in the N.U.T.'s educational policy at the turn of the century. The union supported and stimulated the local authorities in their expansion of the secondary grammar schools. It also, after some soul-searching, gave support to the central schools which were established from 1911 onwards in various areas. When the Hadow Report recommended a universal system of post-primary education from eleven plus to at least fifteen, the N.U.T. warmly welcomed it and worked together with the L.E.A.s to overcome the difficulties of tenure incidental to re-organization.

During the thirties the N.U.T. concerned itself increasingly with the reconstruction of education and educational research. It had demanded as early as 1928 "that the education of all children over the age of eleven plus in State-aided schools should be administered under a common Code of Regulations, that parity in staffing, equipment and the provision of amenities should be secured between present and future types of secondary schools, and that secondary education should be free, with adequate maintenance allowances to pupils who are in need of them". It also asked that "local authorities should be permitted to establish post-primary schools of the multiple-bias type taking all children from the age of eleven onwards and supplying some of them with an academic course leading to the university".⁶

The Spens Report in 1938 laid down the principle that the "post-primary stage of education should be regarded as a single entity, operated under a unified code of regulations, which would lay down common conditions relating to leaving age, fees and general school conditions". While welcoming the general conclusions of the report, the N.U.T. regretted its approval of the

⁵ See H. C. Dent, *Secondary Education for All*, 1949, and O. Banks *op. cit.*, pp. 116-30.

⁶ N.U.T. Pamphlet, *The Hadow Report and After*, 1928.

tripartite system and its general disapproval of multilateral schools. The executive was busily collecting the opinions and observations of all classes of teachers when work had to be suspended at the outbreak of the war.

War and Reconstruction

The outbreak of the war put an end to the scheme to raise the school leaving age and re-organize secondary education. The evil conditions of child life revealed by evacuation soon stimulated demands for educational reconstruction.⁷ Unfortunately, the first individuals to become vocal were a series of writers to *The Times* who delivered a stream of attacks on the council schools and the council school teachers for "allowing the citizens of the future to have a purely heathen upbringing" and for "not teaching the children to pray", so that when the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and the Moderator of the Free Church Council wrote their famous letter to *The Times* on "Foundations of Peace",⁸ the teachers were already braced to resist a denominational attack on the council schools.

In January 1941, Mr. Ramsbottom (then President of the Board of Education) announced that plans for educational reconstruction were being formulated. His speech touched off a stream of suggestions and memoranda which was to continue to flow for the next two years. On 12 May, 1941, Sir Frederick Mander made an important speech on the attitude of the union towards educational reconstruction "Equality of Opportunity" should be built into the foundations and fabric of the system itself. There should be a wise and generous distribution of maintenance grants and the elimination of school fees, the local authority should become the administrative master of all the schools it maintained out of the public purse⁹ and there should be fewer and larger administrative units.¹⁰

⁷ See H. C. Dent, *Education in Transition*, 1944.

Marjorie A. Travis, *The Reform of the Dual System in England and Wales, 1941-1944*, M.A. (Education), University of London, 1950. This thesis is extremely valuable as Miss Travis was able to obtain access to Mr. R. A. Butler's personal archives.

⁸ See H. C. Dent, *op cit.*, p. 189.

⁹ "So far as general administrative control is concerned the Dual System must go, and . . . I do not believe it to be beyond the wit of all the interests concerned to devise a way for this to happen while at the same time safeguarding the religious trust of which the present managers regard themselves as the guardians" (*The Schoolmaster*, 15 May, 1941).

¹⁰ "If education is to advance there can no longer be room for Part III Authorities as such" (*The Schoolmaster*, 15 May, 1941).

In August 1941, the Archbishop of Canterbury led a large deputation, including representatives of the Free Churches, to the President of the Board of Education (Mr. R. A. Butler) to impress the importance of their Five Points upon him. Mr. Butler assured the deputation of his complete sympathy with their object of securing that effective Christian teaching should be given in all schools to the children but the deputation would appreciate that, before giving formal answers to the various questions which had been raised, he would need to have detailed consultations with the L.E.A.s and the teachers. If, as a result of the views expressed by the deputation and his subsequent consultation with the L.E.A.s and the teachers, he reached the conclusion that the existing law required amendment, the necessary changes could best be made when the time came for legislation effecting educational reforms. The deputation, according to H. C. Dent, retired somewhat abashed. *The Schoolmaster* was jubilant at the repulse of the denominationalist putsch and hoped that Mr. R. A. Butler's reply "will serve as a useful reminder to the very distinguished members of the Archbishops' deputation that the council schools of the country belong to the nation, that the people responsible for their administration are the local authorities, and that any arrangements made with regard to religious instruction have to be carried out by the teachers".

When the "Greenbook" on *Education after the War* was sent to the executive of the N.U.T., the executive decided to set up five panels to consider thoroughly the various aspects of the document.¹¹ The process of consideration was a lengthy one but the basic N.U.T. attitude was clear. The union would have preferred to see the complete abolition of the dual system but was willing to compromise if, and only if, the compromise were part of a large-scale measure of educational reform including "secondary education for all". They were resolutely opposed to attempts to give denominational instruction in council schools, desired a national agreed syllabus, and wished to see the 10,000 or more headships in the non-provided schools opened to all. Thus they were at the extreme of the continuum of opinion which ran from the T.U.C., N.U.T. and W.E.A. at one end to the High Church and Roman Catholics at the other.

¹¹ See *The Schoolmaster*, 11 September, 1941. For a summary of the Greenbook, see H. C. Dent, *op. cit.* pp. 205-6. *The Schoolmaster*, 30 October, 1941.

In the first stages of the discussion, an important step was taken to narrow the field of conflict. A Joint Conference of Representatives of the A.E.C., the N.U.T. and the Official Conference of Anglicans and Free Churchmen assembled on the invitation of the last named body to confer on religious instruction in the schools. At the end of the conference a declaration was issued that:

"This Joint Conference is glad that the teaching of Biblical History and of the Christian Ethic is usual in all schools and that the Act of Corporate Worship is a normal part of school life. It dissociates itself from the ill-informed misrepresentations of the state of religious instruction in schools."

This declaration placated the teachers somewhat and cleared the ground for a further exchange of views.

In January 1942, Sir Frederick Mander began a series of five leading articles in *The Schoolmaster* on "The Religious Instruction Controversy" which was intended to put the teachers' point of view clearly and unambiguously.

"The teaching profession" (he wrote) "is in a state of considerable ferment. One senses a rising temper in the profession which at any moment may break out with a vehemence which may well surprise some of those who seem to have persuaded themselves that 'now that denominational differences have been composed' there ought to be more or less plain sailing to the Archbishops' Five Points or some similar 'settlement of the religious instruction question'. . . ."

He went on to declare that

"every Minister of Education, every administrator, every teacher, every intelligent churchman and every honest politician knows quite well that the dual system lies like a tank trap across the highway to educational advance. Until the administrative impotence resulting from this weird, outmoded yet persistent dichotomy is removed there will be no real educational advance, no real equality of opportunity for the ordinary children in the schools."

The teachers were overwhelmingly in favour of religious instruction in their schools and could not accept the view that all the valid and constructive theory of religious teaching in the schools had been discovered and patented by the clerical profession. A gesture from the clerical profession disclaiming any desire to inspect, supervise or otherwise to exercise control over the work

of the teacher, accompanied by a voluntary withdrawal from the provided schools at present subject to their visitations, would go far to provide a basis for a more hopeful and happy future for the churches and schools of the country. Impatient suggestions by individual leader writers and others that the teachers, after all, were the servants and not the masters of the schools and that they should, if necessary, be ignored, did not help. So long as it was the teachers and not the churches who were actually called upon to give the instruction, it was the teachers and not the churches who would be pivotal to the whole position. Mander's articles had their effect and in a House of Lords debate in February 1942 the Archbishop of Canterbury declared that he was "willing to trust the teachers in the matter of religious teaching".¹²

At the annual conference in April 1942, the executive report on *Educational Reconstruction* was considered. The report covered all aspects of educational reconstruction in the light of past union policy. It demanded equality of opportunity, an ending of the caste system in education, the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen with no exemption clauses, the provision of nursery schools, secondary education for all from eleven plus to sixteen plus with provision for transfer at the age of thirteen plus, the use of school records for allocation, the abolition of all fees in all types of secondary school in the State system, one code of regulations for all types of secondary school and government inspection of all private schools. The report made proposals on further education, the health and physical well-being of the child and the training of teachers. It advocated a uniform system of pay, appropriate to a united profession and a more unified system of education, the abolition of the Part III authorities and an exhaustive inquiry into the grant system. Finally the report considered the problems of religious instruction and dual control, emerging with a series of resolutions which closely followed Mander's articles.

Consideration of the report occupied several sessions of the conference. A resolution condemning the executive for weakness in conceding too much to the Church and compromising on the right of entry was defeated by only 68,694 to 56,302, and other resolutions to raise the age of transfer to twelve plus and establish

universal comprehensive schools were defeated by large majorities. The report was approved almost unanimously.

For the next year, private discussions continued between the teachers and the religious bodies and between R. A. Butler and the various interested parties. R. A. Butler was impressed by the hostility of the N.U.T. to any form of religious tests for teachers while the N.U.T. modified its hostile attitude towards the Dual System during the discussions.¹³ The Board prepared a *Revised White Memorandum* (known also as Plan III) and the teachers secured a promise that no teacher would suffer professional disadvantage on religious grounds and that in future, 'teachers' representatives would always be included with those of the Local Education Committee and the Churches in the formulation of local agreed syllabuses.

In November 1942, the T.U.C., the N.U.T., the W.E.A. and the Co-operative Union Education Committee jointly established the "Council for Educational Advance" under the chairmanship of Professor R. H. Tawney. They aimed to campaign together, through the organization of public meetings, for "immediate legislation to provide equality of educational opportunity for all children, and thus to ensure that they should be equipped for a full life and democratic citizenship". The Council drew up a list of twelve points and organized meetings throughout the country. The Catholics, for their part, organized to oppose the Council and there were some stormy meetings.

Throughout the first half of 1943, the religious controversy continued. An attempt was made by the Roman Catholics and the High Church to get the government to accept the "Scottish solution" whereby the local authority would select the list of applicants for appointment to non-provided schools but before the appointment could be confirmed, the applicants had to satisfy the denomination concerned as to their religious qualification. The N.U.T. set itself in firm opposition to the "Scottish solution" declaring that they would not allow their members to be subjected to religious tests. Opposition to the proposals for educational reform also came from the supporters of the Part III Authorities and the local authorities organized political pressure on the government to postpone changes in educational administration pending a general review of local government as a whole. *The*

¹³ See M. A. Travis *op. cit.*, *The Schoolmaster*, 23 April, 1942.

Schoolmaster of 25 February, 1943, contained a front page leader entitled "Action Stations," and offered Mr. Butler full support in staving off political pressure. "Counter-measures," it declared, "are called for and they will be taken. If the demands of the Union upon its members prove heavier, more responsible and exacting than any hitherto made, it will be because action must fit the circumstances of a situation which we regard as extremely grave."

The months of conferences, conversations, consultations and memoranda dragged on with no signs of a definite conclusion. The union began to press Butler to announce his decision and introduce a Bill. As Mr. Ronald Gould declared in his Presidential Address before the 1943 Conference:

"I remember what happened after the (last) war. . . Idealism is not enough. It needs to be reinforced by clear and definite thinking and to find expression in purposeful action. The atmosphere of 1918 prevails today. There is the same easy optimism and airy idealism. There is plenty of talk of equality of opportunity and sharing of 'privileges'. But the New Jerusalem cannot be built on the shifting sands of sentiment. Majestic periods and fine phrases can only build a city of dreams. I am tired of perorations and misty visions of what might be. Let me see the ideals take shape in the provisions of a Bill. Let the principles be interpreted as practical proposals. I want to see the Bill!"

The government, however, did not issue a Bill but a *White Paper on Educational Reconstruction*.¹⁴ Most of the proposals of the White Paper were in accord with union policy and were warmly welcomed.¹⁵ The union realized that Mr. Butler would have two or three stern battles to fight on the financial implications of the proposals, the time-table for their operation and the plans for dealing with the dual system, religious teaching and local authority administration and promised him full support. There were aspects of the proposed settlement which did not commend themselves to majority opinion in the union but the

¹⁴ *B.P.P.*, 1942-3, XI.

¹⁵ Particularly welcome was paragraph 41: "There can be no question of unwilling teachers being compelled to give religious instruction, and save in so far as teachers may seek employment in aided schools or as reserved teachers, the religious opinions of a candidate for a teaching post will not disqualify him for appointment, and no teacher will be required to give, or be penalized for not giving, religious instruction." This paragraph afterwards appeared as Section 30 of the Education Act 1944.

union was prepared to swallow them in the cause of educational advance.

As the debates proceeded, the union warned Mr. Butler again and again not to retreat further.¹⁶ The teaching profession, with his warm approval, was organized under the slogan of, "We want the Bill." On 30 October, 1943, a Special National Assembly of the N.U.T. on Educational Advance was held to mark the beginning of an "intensive, sustained, nation-wide campaign . . . to mobilize public opinion in favour of the early introduction of an Education Bill, which will establish a national system of education providing equality of opportunity for all children". Ronald Gould declared that "to delay the Bill is to destroy it", and Sir Frederick Mander aroused the assembly to a frenzy of enthusiasm with his closing words:

"The hour calls for action. I would that I had the silver tongue of a Macnamara and could fire you as he did in days of old. Then I would say to you, as he did at another hour of destiny in the annals of our Union: 'Be strong for the child, gird up your loins, quit you like men.'"¹⁷

The Act of 1944

The Education Bill was presented to Parliament by Mr. Butler on 15 December, 1943. The N.U.T. welcomed the Bill as a whole but feared that the further concessions made to the Churches in the provision of public money for new church schools would arouse controversy. The union welcomed the response that had been made to their request for a speeding up of the tempo of reform but regretted that no definite date was given for raising the school leaving age to sixteen, that there was to be no statutory limit on the size of classes and that fees were not to be abolished in direct grant grammar schools. It is unnecessary to consider the passage of the Bill in detail.¹⁸ Throughout, the union kept a watchful eye on the proposed amendments, a series of educational advance meetings throughout the country kept interest at its height and inside the House of Commons Mr. W. G. Cove and Mr. R. H. Morgan spoke for the union, pressed its amendments and secured many concessions. On occasions in

¹⁶ "If there was to be a battle let it rage around the rock of the White Paper" (*The Schoolmaster*, 12 August, 1943. See also *ibid.*, 19 August, 1943).

¹⁷ *The Schoolmaster*, 4 November, 1943.

¹⁸ See W. O. Lester Smith, *To Whom do Schools belong?* 1945, pp. 206-26. H. C. Dent, *The Education Act 1944*, 1952.

the House, it appeared that the Roman Catholic and the Church of England members would combine to modify the religious settlement but Mr. Butler and Mr. Chuter-Ede¹⁹ skilfully staved off the danger aided by a timely "re-awakening of the nonconformist conscience". Four Welsh M.P.s (Clement Davies, Moelwyn Hughes, Professor Gruffydd and W. G. Cove) rendered great service to Mr. Butler by providing a counter pressure to the denominational interests. The Bill passed its third reading in the Commons on 12 May, 1944, survived the Lords virtually unscathed,²⁰ and received the Royal Assent on 3 August, 1944.

The passage of the Act marked a turning point in the history of the profession. As Sir Frederick Mander said at the initiation of the campaign for educational advance:

"The most magnificent thing in this Bill is that it removes the word 'elementary' from the nomenclature of British education. And with that goes the badge of inferiority that has so long clung to the elementary schools. Implied in that one clause is the unification of the educational system which will be bound to be followed by unification and consolidation of the teaching profession. That will imply a consolidation of the Burnham scales and the disappearance of the social basis for distinctions not only between school and school but in the Burnham scales."²¹

The elementary teachers had achieved their goal of a unified educational system and a unified profession and the story of the next twelve years is largely the story of their attempts to consolidate their gains, to explore the consequences of their victory and to secure the implications of the Education Act of 1944.

Recruitment and Training

Before turning to consider the problems of the profession in the post-war world, it is necessary to discuss the changes in the recruitment and training of the teacher in the period between the wars. We have already noted some of the changes in recruitment in previous chapters—the demarcation enforced by Morant

¹⁹ J. Chuter-Ede was himself an old teacher and a member of the N.U.T. He had been a pupil-teacher and President and Assistant Secretary of the Surrey County Teachers' Association. He was Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education, 1940-5, and during the Labour Government became Home Secretary and Deputy Leader of the House of Commons.

²⁰ Although the Lords attempted to remove the embargo on the inspection of religious teaching by clergymen (see *The Schoolmaster*, 6 July, 3 August, 1944).

²¹ *The Schoolmaster*, 4 November, 1943.

between the training colleges and the University Departments of Education, the perilous state of recruitment to the profession in the period before the First World War, the slow disappearance of the pupil-teacher and the growing popularity of teaching during the twenties. The N.U.T. had a consistent policy towards the recruitment and training of the teacher. They wished to see highly qualified (preferably graduate) teachers brought into the profession solely by the "attractions of the profession". They wished to see an end to the uncertificated and supplementary teachers and they desired a unified profession without the "caste line" between elementary and secondary teachers. This policy was expressed with but minor modifications at successive union conferences.

In 1923 a Departmental Committee was set up to report on the training of teachers for public elementary schools.²² The committee had before it the views of the union. The document which emerged from the two years' labours of the committee, while valuable for its analysis of the social background of recruits to the profession²³ and the various factors entering into the supply of teachers, was profoundly disappointing to the teachers in its recommendations. There was much in the proposals of which the teachers approved. The committee recommended improvements in the conditions of service, increased public recognition of the teaching profession, the elimination of unqualified practitioners, the abolition of the distinction between training for secondary and primary school service, the abolition of the acting teachers' examination and of the student teacher year and a better standard of training and experience of training college staffs. But it retained the dual function of the training college as a place of academic education and professional training and suggested that the individual teacher could attain a high standard of professional aptitude and skill on a low substratum of academic attainment and intellectual development.

A "Memorandum of Dissent" was attached to the main report

²² *B.P.P.*, 1924-5, XII.

²³ By 1921 over 85 per cent of intending teachers had passed or were passing through a secondary school and only 15 per cent were pupil-teachers. Almost all intending teachers had begun their education in an elementary school and had been helped through secondary school either by the general local provision of free places and maintenance grants or by special arrangements for assisting boys and girls who were understood to intend becoming teachers. The profession was still being recruited almost entirely from the "less well-to-do classes".

signed by two members of the N.U.T. (Miss E. R. Conway and Mr. E. J. Sainsbury), the Secretary of the Teachers' Registration Council (Mr. Frank Roscoe) and Mr. E. K. Chambers of the Board of Education. The memorandum struck a completely different note from the main report by recommending that all training college courses should be post-academic (preferably post-graduate) and strictly professional in content. Academic training before entering training college should be financed through a liberal public provision of scholarships and maintenance allowances not earmarked for intending teachers.

In November 1925, the Board announced that it proposed to divest itself of its functions as an examining body. The Board's final certificate was to be but an endorsement of qualifications granted by responsible academic bodies such as the universities. At the same time, the acting teachers' examination was abolished. Following the Board's announcement, there were discussions between the various parties and eventually eleven local training college groups were organized around universities or university colleges. In 1930, after eighty-four years of government examinations, the certificates were awarded for the first time under the new system. At the same time, a "National Committee for the Certification of Teachers" was instituted to survey the work of the eleven regional bodies and two members of the N.U.T. executive were invited to sit upon it.

Between 1926 and 1935 the union was content to reiterate its original policy. In 1935 the executive passed a resolution: "That the time has now arrived when the education and training of teachers, including the professional training, should be placed on a parity with that of other professions" When, subsequently, this resolution was placed before the Executive's Advisory Committee on the Training of Teachers, the financial implications were pointed out, and the opinion was expressed that before any definite steps were taken to implement the resolution, inquiries should be made as to the possibility of the exclusion of students who came from poorer homes. As a result, the 1936 Conference passed a resolution instructing the executive "to investigate the whole problem of teacher training and to prepare a report for conference, bearing in mind the need to safeguard the interests of poorer students". A Committee of Investigation was appointed in autumn 1937 on "The Training of Teachers and Grants to

Intending Teachers". The committee took a great deal of evidence, received memoranda and reported in March 1939.²⁴

The report noted the recent and rapid rise of the proportion of graduates in the elementary schools²⁵ and stressed the need for closer co-operation between training colleges and universities. The report of the N.U.T. committee laid down ninety-five principal conclusions and recommendations and the more important of these were reformulated and clarified in the union pamphlet on *Educational Reconstruction* as follows:

(1) *Qualification of Teachers.* (a) That in the interests of a unified education system and a united profession, it is essential that every teacher should be of graduate status and trained.

(b) Training courses should be varied, but in no case should the full course be less than four years.

(c) Every Training College should become an integral part of a university and should provide an alternative but equivalent form of training to that followed by the student working for a degree.

(d) The degree taken at the end of such a course should be an award of the University.

(e) Students who are taking University degree courses should receive their professional training with other students in training for the teaching profession.

(f) The teachers' qualification carrying recognition to practise as a teacher should be awarded on the satisfactory completion of such courses.

(g) No teacher should be so recognized before his twenty-first birthday.²⁶

The full report of the committee was presented in evidence before the committee appointed in March 1942 by Mr. Butler, "to investigate the present sources of supply and the methods of recruitment and training of teachers and youth leaders and to

²⁴ N.U.T. Pamphlet, *The Training of Teachers and Grants to Intending Teachers*, 1939.

²⁵ In 1921 only 13 per cent of the elementary teachers were graduates (3.3 per cent of the men and 0.6 per cent of the women), while in 1938 the proportion had risen to 73 per cent (14.4 per cent of the men and 43 per cent of the women).

In 1938 there were 11,842 trained and twenty-three untrained graduates in the elementary schools. In the secondary schools there were 12,280 trained and 7259 untrained graduates.

²⁶ *Educational Reconstruction*, p. 30. Section 2 was on "Commitment to the profession" and included: 2(c) No student, whether at a training college or university, should finally commit himself to teaching until the end of his second year. The report also laid down union policy on uncertificated teachers, specialist teachers, technical teachers and training colleges and training college staffs.

report what principles should guide the Board in these matters in the future".²⁷ The McNair Committee, when it reported in 1944, laid a great deal of stress on the need for making the teaching profession more attractive by improving salaries,²⁸ providing better school buildings and other school amenities and ensuring small classes in all types of school. It favoured the abolition of the system of recognition of "certificated" and "uncertificated" teachers and proposed that in future only "qualified" teachers should be recognized. There should be an integrated system of training with a Central Training Council and Area Training Authorities,²⁹ an abolition of the "pledge" and loans, better conditions in training colleges and a widening of the field of recruitment so that teachers could be recruited from boys and girls in modern schools and junior technical schools (after continued education up to the age of eighteen), and from men and women of maturer years. The normal period of training should be three years (one year for graduates)

Although the report of the McNair Committee came nowhere near the N.U.T. policy it was warmly welcomed by the union. The teachers realized that the implementation of the 1944 Act would necessitate a rapid increase in the size of the profession and that some sacrifices were necessary in the cause of educational progress. The McNair recommendations at least went some distance towards the ideal of a unified graduate profession and proposed the abolition of several of the more degrading aspects of recruitment and training inherited from the nineteenth century. Basically, the willingness of the teachers to accept the report rested upon their hopes that the recommendations of the committee for making the profession more attractive would be fulfilled. As we shall see, these hopes have been almost completely frustrated and the profession has decreased rather than increased in attractiveness during the post-war years.

²⁷ *Teachers and Youth Leaders* (Board of Education, 1944)

²⁸ It favoured a basic scale with additions for special qualifications or special responsibilities and for work in London.

²⁹ Five members (including Sir Fred Clarke and Sir Frederick Mander) favoured "University Schools of Education" (Scheme A)—organic federations of approved training institutions working in co-operation with other approved educational institutions—while the other five members favoured "Joint Boards" (Scheme B) with reciprocal relationships between the universities and the training colleges but each maintaining their separate identities.

1
CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE PROBLEMS OF THE PROFESSION 1945-56

"The Government will . . . have to find more money. Some say we cannot afford it, or that the money, manpower and building resources would have to be diverted from somewhere else, that you would have to rob Peter to pay Paul. In a time of full employment this is always true. There can be no developments in education except at the expense of something else. But note this. Governments have found the money for a service and have even encouraged one service to develop at the expense of others, if they have been convinced of the necessity. The defence programme has switched money, men and materials that would have been used elsewhere. The status of the coal-miner and the status of the men in the forces have been raised to attract more labour to the mines and more men to the armed services. Similarly, a Government could switch money, manpower and materials to education if they really believed in it.

"That indeed is our basic difficulty. Governments and local authorities do not believe in it enough. Education appears to be a luxury, not a necessity. It is something that can be done without.

"We think differently. We believe that more education is the key to many of our social, industrial, political and personal problems. The existence of other views challenges us all to greater and still greater effort. Let no one think the struggle is in vain, but believe and plan and work, and one day the status of teachers will be assured and education will come into its own."

Ronald Gould¹

The "Attractions" of the Profession

The McNair Committee, in concluding its report, had attempted to answer the question: "Will there be available, when they are needed, a sufficient number of teachers of the right quality?" They had replied that "we must rely upon the greater attractiveness of teaching as a profession and upon ampler facilities for training" and referred to "three necessary means of making teaching more attractive: an improved salary system affording higher remuneration; better school buildings and other school amenities; and small classes in all types of school".²

¹ *The Schoolmaster*, 23 April, 1954. "The Status of the Teacher."

² *Teachers and Youth Leaders*, 1944, p. 140.

Post-war inflation has meant that teachers' salaries have constantly lagged behind a rapidly rising cost of living. A fall in real

BURNHAM SCALES 1938 TO 1954

Year	Certificated Male Teacher Two-Year Trained		Graduate Male Teacher Four-Year Trained		Average Weekly Earnings of Men Aged 21 and over ^a	Cost of Living Index ^b
	Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.		
1938	£180 100%	£366 100%	£249 100%	£480 100%	100%	100%
1945 April 1st	£300 167%	£525 143%	£345 139%	£585 122%	175%	149%
1948 April 1st	£300 167%	£555 152%	£360 145%	£615 128%	200%	182%
1951 April 1st	£375 208%	£630 172%	£471 189%	£726 151%	241%	208%
1952 July 1st	£415 231%	£670 183%	£511 205%	£766 160%	259%	227%
1954 March 31st	£450 250%	£725 198%	£546 219%	£821 171%	274%	237%

wages or relative financial status has been a common phenomenon among the salaried lower middle classes in all countries undergoing inflation and it does not appear that teachers have suffered significantly more than other sections of the lower middle class. Different sections of the profession have, however, fared unequally in the post-war salary negotiations, the greatest relative loss falling upon the older teachers, grammar school teachers and head teachers, and this alone has been responsible for much ill-feeling.

^a In general a woman's salary is just over four-fifths that of a man's. Head teachers' salaries vary so widely that it is impossible to give a meaningful average, but the differential between head and assistant teachers has certainly decreased since 1938.

^b *Monthly Digest of Statistics*, March 1954.

^c Between 1938 and 1951 the price index for all consumers' goods and services is used. The figures for 1952 and 1954 are based on the movement of the Ministry of Labour's interim index of retail prices.

In April 1944 Mr. R. A. Butler announced the constitution of two Burnham Committees instead of the existing three to meet the requirements of the new system. There was to be one main committee to cover all types of primary and secondary schools and the teachers' panel on this committee was to be composed of sixteen representatives of the N.U.T., four of the "Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions"¹ and six of the "Joint Four". Mr. Butler met the new committee in May 1944 and asked it to formulate salary scales which would enable him to attract to the profession the thousands of additional teachers required to operate the new educational system. The new Burnham Committee soon reached agreement on the need for a basic scale applicable to all qualified teachers but the Authorities' Panel refused completely to accept the principle of equal pay and only conceded the increment of £45 minimum to £60 maximum for a four-year trained male graduate after great pressure from the teachers.² The Teachers' Panel had asked for £105 at the minimum and £135 at the maximum.

The new Burnham agreement achieved the N.U.T. aims of a "basic scale", parity between different areas and parity between teachers with similar qualifications engaged in different types of school. While there was disappointment with the size of the salary and the refusal to adopt equal pay, a special conference of the N.U.T. accepted the award by over 2000 votes to three. The four secondary associations had done their utmost to prevent the unification of the Burnham Committees. They opposed the acceptance of the new scales inside and outside the committee rooms. Although Sir Frederick Mander and his successor, Sir Ronald Gould, have always put the graduate case strongly at Burnham meetings, many grammar school graduates have blamed the N.U.T. for their relative loss of financial status and have demanded a return to separate committees for graduates, grammar school teachers or grammar school graduates. In this campaign they have been supported by a handful of Conservative M.P.s who have convinced themselves that the low salaries of the graduates are due to the "narrow-minded egalitarianism" of the N.U.T. rather than to the parsimony of the local authorities.³ This conception of the N.U.T. "grinding down" the

¹ Now in joint membership with the N.U.T.

² See *N.U.T. Report*, 1945, pp. liv-lv.

³ e.g. R. Lewis and A. Maude, *Professional People*, 1952, pp. 201, 220.

graduates has little or no justification. It is true that the N.U.T. has tended to concentrate upon securing a "professional" basic scale but the responsible leaders of the four secondary associations have paid tribute to the fight of the N.U.T. representatives on Burnham to raise the graduate allowance. Indeed, the N.U.T. can do no less for amongst its members are the majority of the graduates teaching in the maintained schools⁹ and one of its aims is to obtain a completely graduate profession.

The Teachers' Panel has actually succeeded in increasing the male graduate differential from £45-60 in 1945 to £96 for an ordinary degree and £126 for a good honours degree in 1954. The allowances payable to assistant teachers for special responsibility or special qualifications have also largely gone to graduate teachers. While pressing for higher graduate allowances, the N.U.T. has opposed any attempt to return to separate scales of salaries separately negotiated for teachers in grammar schools as this would mean, in effect, a return to the pre-1944 conception of secondary education.

Apart from this concern with the graduates, there has been constant pressure by the N.U.T. to raise the basic scale. Each attempt has run up against resistance from the local authorities and negotiations have dragged on for months. The forces at work were spotlighted by the resignation of Sir Percival Sharp in December 1949. He had taken a prominent part in the inception of Burnham and had been a member of the Authorities' Panel since 1919. He resigned in protest at the rejection of the teachers' claim for an extra £3 a week, writing in his letter of resignation that he could not "be a party to a procedure which shifts from the Minister of Education and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to our shoulders an arduous responsibility of denying justice to teachers".¹⁰ The protracted negotiations on Burnham have led to a worsening of the relationships between teachers and local authorities, to some loss of confidence in the Burnham method and to an increasing concern by the teachers with the finance of local government and the education service.

The Burnham award in March 1954 was accepted by the N.U.T.

⁹ In 1953 there were 21,080 graduate teachers in secondary grammar schools and the N.U.T. claimed that about 7000 of these were its members. There were 14,000 graduates in schools other than grammar of whom the large majority were members of the N.U.T.

¹⁰ *The Schoolmaster*, 13 February, 1953.

by 140,589 votes to 40,188 and was rejected by all four secondary associations. There was serious discussion for a time on the possibility of strike action among both elementary and secondary teachers. The N.U.T., in 1954, commenced a long-term salaries campaign aimed at "building up public appreciation of the value of education and the worth of the teacher". At the annual conference in 1955 the executive was censured by 124,623 votes to 61,147 for its "unrealistic interpretation" of the wishes of the union and instructed to "develop immediately a more militant Salaries Campaign".

It was to a "frustrated and disillusioned" profession that the then Minister of Education (Miss Florence Horsbrugh) made her demand for an increase from 5 per cent of their salaries to 6 per cent to cover a possible deficit in the superannuation fund.¹¹ In 1951 the Government Actuary had issued a report on the cost of pensions, stating that the teachers' pension "fund" was running into debt and that an increase in contribution was necessary. The teachers, after some discussion, were forced to accept the figures of the Government Actuary on the existence of a deficiency and the persistent instability of their superannuation scheme. They claimed, however, that the government should meet any existing deficiency and that the local authorities should raise their own contributions by an amount sufficient to keep the superannuation scheme stable in future years. By increasing the teachers' contribution, the government was actually proposing to cut their salaries by 1 per cent. The N.U.T. compared the proposed increase of 1 per cent with the enforced levy of 1922, and declared that "what teachers need are the tonics of encouragement and professional esteem. Instead they have suffered this new blow to their aspirations."

On 22 January, 1954, the Minister presented to the House of Commons a Bill proposing an increase in the rate of superannuation contributions and incorporating certain other changes in the existing superannuation scheme. The N.U.T. decided to oppose the Bill and waged an "arduous campaign" against it. This not only won support from the official opposition and the Liberals but also from a group of Conservative back-benchers who were either convinced of the justice of the teachers' case or of the influence

¹¹ The demand had actually been made once before, in 1935, but had been so warmly resisted by the teachers that it had to be abandoned.

of the teachers in their constituencies. The Bill was held up again and again and on 20 May, 1954, the Cabinet decided that it could not be got through Parliament in time to make it effective by 1 July—the date originally proposed for the operation of the Bill. Although taken out of the immediate programme, the government stated its intention of putting the Bill through before the end of the current financial year, 31 March, 1955. The postponement of the Bill was regarded as a great triumph for the N.U.T. In October 1954 Miss Horsbrugh was replaced by Sir David Eccles. The Queen's Speech in December 1954 stated that "in consultation with the teachers and local authorities my Ministers will prepare a new scheme for ensuring a sound financial basis for teachers' pensions". When Sir David Eccles invited organizations of teachers and education authorities to meet him, he announced, in advance, that the government would meet all outstanding actuarial deficiency on the pensions account if a new scheme could be agreed upon which would prevent it running into deficiencies in the future. Discussions proceeded from February to October 1955 when the Minister (Sir David Eccles), backed this time by a larger and better disciplined majority in the Commons, announced his final proposals. The government would meet the existing actuarial deficiency but the teachers' contribution was to be raised to 6 per cent. Of equal importance, although the Minister had previously hinted at a scheme of widows', orphans' and dependants' benefits, he was not now willing to enforce a scheme against the objections of the local authorities to any further financial burden.

The N.U.T., backed by the other teachers' associations, fought the Bill in the country and in Parliament. All the general pressure techniques were employed. A nation-wide publicity campaign raised sympathy for the teachers' general position but did not appear to convince the public that on the particular issue of superannuation the teachers had an overwhelming case. In December 1955 the N.U.T. took an unparalleled step by asking all its members to cease collecting school savings. This obtained much publicity but had no apparent effect on the Minister or the local authorities. The union was not supported in its action by the four secondary associations. For its own part, it refused to join with the National Association of Schoolmasters in a ban on the collecting of money for school meals.

Inside Parliament, the Bill was contested at every stage by the Opposition, headed by the teacher M.P.s. A number of minor improvements were won at the committee stage but the Minister stood firm on the increase in contribution. Throughout the struggle Sir David Eccles had tried to direct the teachers' attention away from the Bill to salaries. He had appealed to the local authorities and the teachers to get together on salary difficulties and stated his willingness to approve an interim increase or a full-scale review.

At the beginning of February 1956, a government amendment to the Bill postponed, until 1 October, 1956, the date of the proposed increase of 1 per cent. It was hoped that, by this date, the Burnham Committee would have agreed upon new increases in salaries and that thus no teacher would have been in the position of receiving less money because of having to pay a higher contribution for pensions. Negotiations proceeded for several months inside the Burnham Committee, with the teachers pressing for a new basic scale of £500 to £1050 (compared with their existing scale of £450 to £725) and the local authorities in turn fighting for their own lower figure. While these negotiations were in progress, there were signs of increasing dissatisfaction among the profession and threats of a mass withdrawal of services.

On 25 April, the Burnham (Main) Committee reached provisional agreement on new scales of salary, for teachers in primary and secondary schools, to operate from 1 October, 1956. The basic scale for a two-year trained man teacher was raised to £475-£900, and for a woman (including the two equal-pay instalments) £425-£671 8s. 6d. For a four-year trained man graduate with a good (first or second class honours) degree, the new scale was £650-£1075, and for a woman £592 17s. 2d.-£921 8s. 7d. The scale for women was to rise by yearly increments to full equality with the men's scale in 1961. There were also new systems of special allowances and allowances for head teachers. The general effect of the new award was to increase the differentials between head and assistant teachers and between secondary school teachers and primary school teachers. In spite of the criticisms of the size of the increase, the small increase at the minimum and the discrimination against the primary school-teacher, a Special Conference of the N.U.T. approved the award with less than 200 out of 2000 voting against acceptance. The

award was ratified unanimously by both panels and approved by the Minister.

The provision of better school buildings and "other school amenities" and "small classes in all types of school" were considered by the McNair Committee not only as objects worth achieving in themselves but also as essential if sufficient recruits were to be attracted into the profession. Much has been done since the end of the war to build new schools. Yet the heritage of the past in the form of old and unhygienic buildings, the condition of the transferred church schools, the post-war "baby boom" and the demands of the new housing estates have made real progress difficult. Conditions of squalor and overcrowding are widespread; over half the children in maintained and assisted schools were being taught in over-crowded classes in 1952 and the immediate aim of reducing the size of classes was abandoned by the Ministry of Education in 1950. Miss Florence Horsbrugh was forced, by Treasury pressure, to restrict school building and it was only in December 1954 that Sir David Eccles announced a more flexible building policy and encouraged local authorities to go ahead with reconditioning and extensions.¹²

There is no doubt that among the rank and file of the teaching profession a reduction in the size of classes has priority over all other desired educational reforms. The recruitment of sufficient teachers was one of the most serious problems facing both the profession and its employers in the post-war years. The emergency training scheme brought some 35,000 extra teachers, about two-thirds of them men, into the profession. While the N.U.T. played an important part in the planning and execution of the scheme, the history of the profession had taught it to beware of any movement towards lowering the standard of entry. The scheme was accepted only as a "short-term policy for an emergency" and as part of a general plan to do away completely with further unqualified entry and to eliminate the uncertificated from the profession. There was much disquiet while the scheme was proceeding and even after it had been terminated there was a good

¹² At the end of July 1955, Mr. R. A. Butler appealed to the local authorities to hold back ~~teachers~~ for capital expenditure, but stated that he would not withhold authorizations already given to local authorities or cut down on specific programmes already announced. In March 1956, a Ministry of Education Circular (No. 298) stated that some projects due to be started in the 1956-7 programmes of Local Education Authorities would have to be postponed.

deal of "petulant wrangling" in the correspondence columns of the educational Press. There still exists a feeling that if the teachers had refused to accept an emergency training scheme, the consequent shortage would have forced an increase in salaries and this feeling strengthened the decision of the profession to resist any further attempt to recruit other than by normal channels.

The emergency training scheme was only intended to "fill the breach" while permanent arrangements were being made to enlarge the training colleges and university departments of education. Extra building and maintenance grants were offered to the existing training colleges, new colleges were opened, and the number of students admitted to training rose from the pre-war figure of 6908 to 15,362 in 1954-5. The number of teachers in full-time service in grant-aided schools and establishments increased by 33.7 per cent from 1947 to 1954 (the number of men rose by 55.5 per cent and of women by 22.0 per cent). The increase has been swallowed up almost completely by the "bottle of the bulge" and the raising of the school leaving age to fifteen.

The number of children in the schools will continue increasing until 1958. Until 1955 the primary schools bore the brunt of the increased numbers, but from then onwards the bulge began passing through the secondary schools. By 1961 there will be nearly 50 per cent more children in secondary schools than in 1950. It was calculated in 1953 that 255,000 teachers would be needed in 1960 if the staffing standards of 1950 were to be maintained and a further 20,000 would be required by the same date to eliminate over-size classes. If most of the provisions of the 1944 Act were to be fulfilled by 1960 (i.e. raising the leaving age to sixteen, providing county colleges, nursery schools and better staffing standards for special schools) about 350,000 full-time teachers would be required.¹³

The shortage of teachers has, until the present, been most marked among women teachers and graduate teachers of mathematics and science. *The Working Party on the Supply of Women*

¹³ See *Planning*, vol. XIX, No. 358, 14 December, 1953. "Schools under Pressure I—The Shortage of Teachers." (*Also Times Educational Supplement*, 1 January, 1954. Letter from R. J. Goodman.)

Report of the Working Party on the Supply of Women Teachers (H.M.S.O., 1949).

Training and Supply of Teachers: First Report of the National Advisory Council (H.M.S.O., 1951).

Graduate Teachers of Mathematics and Science: A Report of the National Advisory Council on the Training and Supply of Teachers (H.M.S.O., 1953).

Teachers pointed out that in 1952 close on 11,000 women recruits would be needed if staffing standards were to be maintained. Yet in 1948 there were only 14,000 girls of seventeen to eighteen in secondary schools other than independent schools out of a total age group of 293,000 girls.¹⁴ Many other occupations were now open to women and it was clear "that the number of girls staying at school till eighteen must be substantially increased, up to at least 20,000 and that every effort must be made to secure suitable recruits from among women who left school before eighteen and to attract married teachers back to teaching". The increase of the potential sources of supply should go together with securing "professional conditions and standards which will attract the proper proportion of the best talent in the country and will prove wholly satisfying and stimulating to those who enter the profession". From 1949 onwards there was considerable concern about the shortage of women teachers. The number of girls aged seventeen and over in the maintained schools showed no signs of increasing, indeed from 14,946 in January 1949 it slumped to 13,621 in January 1951. During the same period, the proportion leaving for training colleges rose only slightly from 32 per cent to 33.7 per cent. Faced with the shortage of women teachers, the Ministry of Education did little except appeal for entrants to come forward and "ration" out the full-time women teachers among the local authorities.

Two types of solution to the problem were proposed. The teachers themselves emphasized their traditional aims of a higher status and higher salaries for the profession combined with an increase in the number taking the General Certificate of Education, more generous maintenance grants for children over the age of fifteen and training grants sufficient to make the teacher in training self-supporting. The other solution was proposed by journals as dissimilar as *The Times Educational Supplement* and the *Daily Mirror* and by individuals as various as Angus

"*Report of the Working Party on the Supply of Women Teachers* (H.M.S.O., 1949).

Not all training college students come straight from school. In 1950, out of some 8800 women students admitted to training colleges and colleges of physical education, about two-thirds came straight from school, one-fifth had been "temporary teachers" (half of these for a very short time) and the remainder "appear to have no intention of making teaching their career at the time of leaving school".

¹⁴ *Training and Supply of Teachers: First Report of the National Advisory Council* (H.M.S.O., 1951).

Maude, M.P., and Peggy Jay. They suggested either a general lowering of the standard of entry or some kind of "apprenticeship scheme" or recruiting of "teachers' assistants". These suggestions were often combined with that of raising the school entry age to six years.¹⁶ The teachers, needless to say, resisted these latter proposals fiercely and in the end succeeded in blocking any movement towards "dilution". They did not object to entrants from the secondary modern schools but they insisted that they should have obtained the minimum requirements for admission to a training college, i.e. five passes at ordinary level in the General Certificate of Education. Through their representatives on the "National Advisory Council on the Training and Supply of Teachers" and the Area Training Organizations, they continually opposed attempts to make excessive use of the regulation which allowed Area Training Organizations to admit students without the minimum requirements.

From 1951 onwards, the efforts of the Ministry to attract recruits were aided by an increase in the number of girls aged seventeen and over in the maintained schools. The number grew from 13,621 in 1951 to 16,780 in 1954 while the proportion leaving for training college remained constant at around 33 per cent. In 1953 the training colleges were virtually filled and by 1955 there was talk of a "phenomenal rush" to join the teaching profession. Indeed there were more qualified applicants than training college places. The staffing situation was eased also by the decrease in the amount of "wastage" from the profession from 11,500 in 1950 to 8100 in 1953. This decrease was due partly to later retirement and partly to an increase in the number of married women remaining in and re-entering the profession. It was possible for the N.U.T. to begin to press for a three-year training course and its pressure met with sympathetic response from the government. It appeared that by 1959-60 it would be possible to begin the transformation of teacher training from two years to three years as a step on the way to the final goal of an all-graduate profession.

The problem of the shortage of graduate teachers of mathematics and science is of rather a different nature. Not only is the number of such teachers in the schools insufficient, but there is

¹⁶ See, for example, *The Times Educational Supplement*, 30 April, 1954.
 Peggy Jay, *Better Schools Now*, 1953.
Daily Mirror Spotlight on Education, 1954.

evidence that those entering the profession are less well qualified than before the war.¹⁶ Teaching cannot compete with the financial attractions of industry or the scholarly attractions of university research. Unlike the position in the primary schools, it is obvious to all that dilution would prove self-defeating. Higher salaries are clearly necessary but there is no agreement as to who should receive these salaries. Should it be only grammar school teachers of mathematics and science, or all graduate teachers of such subjects, all grammar school graduates, all graduates or all teachers? No body of teachers was at first willing to abandon its claim to any increase in salaries that was to be made. The Burnham award in 1953 included a small allowance (£30 for a man, £24 for a woman) for a good honours or higher degree and also included provisions for a more extensive use of special allowances to help recruit mathematics and science teachers. There were suggestions that industry should "endow" science posts in grammar schools, should "second" scientists to the schools or that science graduates should be allowed to teach as an alternative to military service.

In March 1955 the N.U.T. regretfully agreed to an elaborate scheme of special allowances for teachers taking work above ordinary level of the General Certificate of Education. The only concession obtained by the union was that the allowances should not be confined to grammar schools or science teachers alone. There is much disquiet in the union at the new scheme which appears to mark yet another step away from the basic scale. In July 1955 the Minister of Labour finally gave in to the demands of the Federation of British Industries and the Advisory Council on Scientific Policy and announced that after 1956 favourable consideration would be given to the indefinite deferment from National Service of first- and second class honours graduates in science and mathematics who take up teaching.

To many besides the teachers (including here the majority of graduate and grammar school teachers) the recent changes appear degrading to the profession. They seem to ignore the fact that "successful education is the product of first-class team work from infants' school to university".¹⁷ Successive tinkering with allowances and terms of deferment for special types of teacher are no substitute for a professional salary scale and an increase

¹⁶ W. E. Egner and Andrew Young, *The Staffing of Grammar Schools*, 1954.

¹⁷ *The Schoolmaster*, 15 April, 1955. Presidential Address.

in the number of sixth formers and undergraduates. Problems are already rising in the schools over the distribution of special allowances. Many graduates have in recent years deliberately chosen to teach in secondary modern schools on the grounds, as one put it, "I would rather teach civics to children who have to leave school at fifteen than cram selected children for a pass at Advanced Level in G.C.E." The new scheme has penalized such teachers overwhelmingly. The distinction between science teachers and others in National Service commitments has no justification except that of crudest expediency.

"The real answer" (as Mr. H. J. Nursey put it) "is to be found in all-round improvements. In short, in union policy which seeks a better basic scale (very much better at the maximum), an increased graduate addition, larger training additions, and responsibility allowances. The present cry for more science and mathematics teachers cannot be met completely by holding forth inducements in that field alone. . . . While our salary scales need to be sufficiently flexible to offer inducements for high qualifications, extended training, and outstanding experience and personality, they must contain a sufficiently substantial base to demonstrate that each phase in a child's education is equally important, and offers comparable opportunities for the teacher prepared and able to equip himself fully for his life's mission."¹⁸

The connected issues of the level of salaries, the size of classes, conditions in the schools and recruitment to the profession have been by far the most significant and important problems facing the profession in the post-war world. The profession has been on the defensive in a world where the high hopes of 1944 seem rather unreal and the short-sightedness of the inter-war years has been apparent once more. In defending its own interests, it has once more defended the interests of education and the true interests of the country. Flooding the primary schools with untrained "nursery helpers", concentrating all attention on the state of the grammar schools or the technical colleges without regard to the necessity of a general raising of educational standards and abandoning all hopes of raising the school leaving age to sixteen, establishing county colleges, lowering the size of classes or improving school buildings is no way to prepare a nation for the trials of the twentieth century.

True to its traditions, the N.U.T. has pressed continually for the implementation of the Education Act; it was foremost in

¹⁸ *The Schoolmaster*, 15 April, 1955.

resisting the proposal to economize in education or raise the school entry age and it has consistently favoured "considerable varied experimentation in the organization of secondary education". The N.U.T. has never completely committed itself to the comprehensive principle, and feeling in the profession has perhaps tended to move against the comprehensive schools. It was feared that the very size of the proposed schools would lead to new problems of organization and "human relations". The class teachers have always disliked the idea of an administrative "non-teaching" head, whom they feel is all too apt to lose sight of the problems of the assistant teacher. The direct contact between head and teacher and between head and every child in the school is also valued. The elongated administrative hierarchy and the variety of specialized posts, will, it was said, make for a cramping of both the spirit of the school and the freedom of the teacher. There are other reasons for the dislike of the comprehensive schools. It is felt by certificated teachers that the higher posts in such schools will be reserved for ex-grammar school teachers while the relics of the hostility between "elementary" and "secondary" teachers would poison relations in the staff rooms. All teachers have been successful grammar school pupils and are rather proud of the tradition of the grammar schools. Finally, in the last few years, the modern secondary schools have once again begun "pressing upwards" within the existing framework of secondary education and many have experimented with courses enabling their best pupils to take the General Certificate of Education. In spite of the existence of these objections, the policy of the local association most affected (the London Teachers' Association) is still "that there should be an experiment in this form of school organization, and we are satisfied that no one at this present time can stay with any assurance that such an organization will either be a success or a failure".¹⁹ The L.T.A. also protested against the decision of the late Minister in preventing the closing of the Eltham Hill County Secondary School which was to have formed part of the new Kidbrooke Comprehensive School.

The N.U.T. has continued its pre-war policy of direct research into educational problems, has produced reports on *Transfer from Primary to Secondary Schools* (1949), *Nursery Infant Education* (1949) and *The Curriculum of the Secondary School*

¹⁹ *The London Teacher*, March 1954.

(1952) and is engaged with the A.E.C. in an investigation into the extent to which the recommendations of the Hadow and Spens Reports have been realized. The union has been criticized for devoting its annual conference to resolutions concerning salaries, pensions and recruitment rather than to problems of educational technique. This criticism is both exaggerated and misguided. The annual conference is largely concerned with educational policy and the N.U.T. holds national sectional meetings at Christmas to discuss purely educational problems. More important is the fact that the basic difficulty of the working teacher is not the paucity of new teaching techniques but that those he has absorbed in training are virtually useless in dealing with classes of 40 or over.

The Profession and the Union

The composition of the profession has changed radically during the twentieth century. The proportion of women in the old "elementary" (primary and secondary modern) schools has fallen from 74 per cent in 1900 to 65 per cent in 1954, the proportion of "non-certificated teachers" (unqualified) has shrunk from 44 per cent to 2 per cent and the proportion of graduates has grown to 3.8 per cent in the primary schools, 15.9 per cent in the secondary modern schools and 19.2 per cent for the teaching profession as a whole. No further supplementary or uncertificated teachers are being admitted to the schools; only a handful of women "temporary" teachers are admitted and these only for three years, and although a thousand new untrained graduates enter the schools each year, about nine hundred leave. The profession has shed its mass of cheap untrained female labour and has begun to move slowly towards its goal of a trained graduate profession. There is no doubt that this has vastly improved the efficiency and morale of the schools.

Recruits to the profession are drawn almost entirely from the fifth and sixth forms of grammar schools. Although there are no accurate figures of the social background of entrants, it appears that the profession is still being recruited mainly from the children of the skilled manual and the routine non-manual workers.²⁰ With

²⁰ Mr. R. K. Kelsall has collected data on the occupations of fathers of entrants to training colleges within the area covered by the Bristol University Institute of Education in 1940. Bristol cannot be taken as "typical" of A.T.O.s as a whole but the data shows the predominance of children of skilled manual and routine non-manual workers.

the ending of the tied grant, the loan and the "pledge" and the general increase in opportunities for university education (together with full employment and the continuing decline in family size) the profession is said to be no longer taking the "cream" of these occupational grades even in the traditional recruitment areas of Wales and Northumberland and Durham. While it is true that there are now other opportunities open to the ambitious child of the upper work 12 and lower middle classes, many young people are still "trapped" due to their choice of subjects at school or university or their failure to obtain a good General Certificate of Education or a good degree. Against this tendency towards a lowering of the academic standard of the profession must be set the movement towards continued employment after marriage of the wives of white-collar workers and the return to work of married women with grown children. Teaching, with its short hours, long holidays and opportunities for part-time work is the most convenient occupation for middle-class married women, and a teacher training is perhaps the most profitable investment for a girl whose aspirations include marriage and motherhood.

The N.U.T. is still growing and now numbers over 220,000 members.²¹ Sir Frederick Mander resigned from the General Secretaryship in 1947 and his place was taken by Ronald Gould.²² The circumstances of succession were different from those of his predecessors. Yoxall, Goldstone and Mander had all been elected as part of a general "forward movement" inside the union and

²¹ The N.U.T. membership for 1953 was 214,300, of which 183,000 were serving in the schools, 19,500 had left the profession and 11,766 were "associate members" still under training. Of the total membership 75,000 were men and 139,300 women. The membership in different types of schools compared with the Ministry of Education staffing figures for the same year was.

	N.U.T. Membership	Total Staff
Primary	114,000	143,000
Secondary	56,000	84,000
Further Education, Special and Training College	13,000	13,400
	<hr/> 183,000	<hr/> 240,400

²² Ronald Gould was born in 1904, the son of Fred Gould, M.P. (Labour). He was educated at Shepton Mallet Grammar School and Westminster Training College. He taught from 1924 to 1946, was elected to the N.U.T. executive in 1936 and to the Vice-Presidency in 1942. He is President of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession and was knighted in 1955.

had been supported by strong and stable executives. The generation of leaders that had dominated union affairs in the twenties and thirties had begun retiring during the late thirties and early forties, but no new "forward movement" had risen to replace them. Instead, there were a series of short-lived, inexperienced executives.²³ Gould himself, while a powerful figure, necessarily took several years to reach the stature of Yoxall, Goldstone or Mander. The union, in spite of the efforts of its leaders, has begun to suffer from the common diseases of all large-scale voluntary associations—an increase in the importance of the permanent officials and a decline in member participation. The proportion of union members voting in the Vice-Presidential election has declined steadily²⁴ and in many local associations, meetings are sparsely attended.²⁵ As against this degree of apathy, the growth in membership, the lack of success of the secessionist unions, the recent "stabilization" of the executive and the turbulence of the annual conference are encouraging signs.

The internal difficulties of the last few years have in no way lessened the external influence of the N.U.T. There is a group of twenty-three N.U.T. members in the House of Commons (twenty-one Labour and two Conservative) and teachers and ex-teachers are prominent in local government and all aspects of local social, political and cultural life. Through its representatives on Local Education Authorities, area training organizations, universities and education bodies of all kinds, the union's influence is widely spread, and there is no evidence that its contribution to the making of educational policy has diminished. Since 1944 it has shown its strength by successful resistance to dilution and economy cuts.

During the post-war years the union has defeated the attempts of the Bury and Southend-on-Sea Authorities to ban conscien-

²³ The proportion of the executive with five or more years of service has varied as follows: 1908-9, 75%; 1910-11, 84%; 1912-13, 81%; 1914-15, 70%; 1916-17, 71%; 1918-19, 74%; 1920-1, 54%; 1922-3, 54%; 1924-5, 54%; 1926-7, 62%; 1928-9, 67%; 1930-1, 64%; 1932-3, 65%; 1934-5, 60%; 1936-7, 63%; 1938-9, 59%; 1940-1, 68%; 1942-3, 58%; 1944-5, 49%; 1946-7, 58%; 1948-9, 58%; 1950-1, 44%; 1952-3, 50%; 1954-5, 58% (*N.U.T. Annual Reports, 1909-55*).

²⁴ e.g., 1900, 67.8%; 1910, 65.9%; 1920, 47.2%; 1930, 48.7%; 1938, 47.6%; 1948, 45.1%; 1953, 41.2%; 1955, 36.8%.

²⁵ Apathy is confined to the large associations in the cities, and even there is not so pronounced as in the trade unions. In rural and semi-rural areas, and the small towns, meetings are well attended, and there is plenty of interest.

tious objectors from employment. It has also defeated the Durham Authority's attempt to impose a "closed shop" after a prolonged dispute which lasted two years, led to the collection of mass resignations, the intervention of the Minister and the submission of the matter to arbitration.²⁶ The one failure of the union has been in Middlesex where the local authority has for the last six years successfully maintained a ban against the appointment of communist and fascist head teachers. While there was a general scare in 1949 and 1950 at the existence of communist teachers, there were local reasons why the issue should be more acute in Middlesex. It was in this county that many communist teachers had been elected to official positions in the local association and a communist ex-President of the N.U.T. was a headmaster under the authority.²⁷ Many of the local teachers have either supported the ban or else have refused to consider "extreme action" in favour of colleagues whose opinions they dislike. On the grounds that a strike without full support would be disastrous, the N.U.T. has confined itself to verbal objections and has refused to employ the blacklist or to threaten strike action.²⁸ The political ban on head teachers has shown no signs of spreading to other areas and although the mass of the union is completely opposed to discrimination of this kind, the situation among the Middlesex teachers is such that the only hope for a repeal of the ban appears to be the replacement of the existing Conservative majority on the Middlesex Council by a Labour majority. The fact that the union appears powerless to force the authority to remove the political test is perhaps its major weakness at the present time.

Inside the profession there still exist factions and pressure groups. The "National Federation of Class Teachers" and the "National Association of Head Teachers" continue to guard the

²⁶ The Durham dispute won world-wide attention, but the various forces involved have never been fully described. The personality and ambitions of the leader of the Durham County Council (Councillor E. F. Peart) appear to have played a greater part in the conflict than any "class-conflict" between miners and teachers.

²⁷ Although it should be mentioned that the authority has investigated his school and exonerated the staff from all charges of using their position for propaganda purposes.

²⁸ In December 1955 the N.U.T. decided to hold a referendum amongst its members employed in Middlesex schools as to whether they were prepared to take concerted action (including the withdrawal of their services) to secure the removal of the political test. In a 54 per cent poll there was a three-to-one majority against withdrawal of services.

interests of class and head teachers respectively. The "National Association of Labour Teachers" and the "Conservative and Unionist Teachers' Association" act mainly as pressure groups inside their own political parties, but political allegiance obviously influences voting at elections and conferences and inside the executive. The most important controversy in recent years was that which arose over the question of communist membership of the executive. In 1944, communists were elected to the presidencies of the N.U.T. and the L.T.A. although the party never mustered more than a handful of members on the executive. After agitation from non-union educational periodicals, a short and vigorous campaign drove the communists from all union offices in 1949. Some have since been re-elected. Inside the union, too, there is some ill-feeling between the different types of teachers but this is insignificant compared with the desire for and the drive towards unity. The organization of "sections" inside the union to deal with the special problems of teachers in all-age, primary, modern, technical and grammar schools and further education establishments has also aided the unification of the profession.

Outside the union there are the four secondary associations, the new "Graduate Teachers' Association" and the "secessionist" "National Association of Schoolmasters" and "National Union of Women Teachers".²² From 1924 to 1932, 1936 to 1938 and 1946 to 1951, the N.U.T. made serious attempts to bring all teachers' association into a common "Institute of Education for England and Wales". The N.U.T. aimed at a system of joint membership (similar to that it has negotiated with the A.T.T.I. and the Association of Teachers of Domestic Subjects) and an ending of competitive recruitment, but the smaller associations were willing only to agree to a "Common Council". From 1951 to 1955 the N.U.T. regretfully abandoned its direct attempts to negotiate with the other teachers' associations. The superannuation controversy has led to renewed interest in professional unity among all sections of the teaching profession and a new movement is under way towards the formation of either a common council or an "all-in" professional organization. There is no doubt that time is on the side of the N.U.T. With the new structure of secondary

²² The N.A.S. has an estimated 15,000 membership, the N.U.W.T. about 4000 and the four secondary associations about 25,000 (many of them in the independent schools). There are no accurate figures for the G.T.A., but its membership is less than 2000.

education and continued experiments in comprehensive schools, the four secondary associations are losing their reason for independent existence and the rise in the grammar school membership of the N.U.T. from 2000 in 1938 to 7000 in 1954 is a sign of the breaking down of the barriers between grammar school and other teachers. With two-fifths of graduates in schools other than grammar, the caste feeling between the grammar school teachers and other teachers is slowly disappearing. The attempt to split the profession into graduates and non-graduates also appears to have failed. The "National Union of Women Teachers" already shows signs of breaking up following the grant of equal pay. The "National Association of Schoolmasters", which at one time seemed destined to survive alone to preserve the ideals of masculinity and the sanctity of the family, appears in recent months to have begun to accept the emancipation of women and to be moving towards unification with the N.U.T.

Towards Professional Status

The movement towards "professional status" and "professional self-government" still continues, although in recent years it has taken a rather different form. The N.U.T. welcomed the steps taken by the Teachers' Registration Council during the 1920's and 1930's to make itself more effective, urged the Board to delegate more powers to the council and advised all eligible members of the union to register. The council never succeeded in achieving much and was finally extinguished in 1949.³⁰ In recent years, there have been suggestions of a "National Teachers' Institute" or "British Teachers' Council" to control recruitment and to discipline the profession.

In assessing the reactions of the profession to these suggestions, it is necessary to distinguish the various separate aims that have been brought together under the slogans of "professional status" and "professional self-government". Among the aims of the profession have been the desire to drive out the unqualified and defend children against untrustworthy teachers, to stabilize the standard of the certificate and prevent government manipulation of it in times of shortage, and to have some control over the withdrawal of the certificate. The teachers also considered that a professional council would represent the profession as a whole

³⁰ See G. Baron, "The Teachers' Registration Movement," *British Journal of Educational Studies*, May 1954.

and act as an advisory body to the government. Finally, they sought independence in their work and freedom from excessive control. There is no doubt that the motives behind these aims were as "professional", in the best sense of the word, as they were "selfish". Individuals have been attracted into teaching, as into the other professions, not only because it offered security and status but also because it seemed a valuable and worthwhile occupation. They were led to form associations, to resist dilution and raise the standards of the profession, to fight for educational progress and engage in research not because they were acquisitive individuals but because of their deeply felt ideals and beliefs. They resisted excessive supervision and demanded that they should be trusted not because they desired an easy life but because they wished to teach as their experience and consciences dictated.

For many years it was thought that these aims could be obtained best through professional self-government. In 1919, for example, W. W. Hill proposed a resolution at the N.U.T. Conference claiming for teachers "professional self-government and full partnership in administration". His speech included the following passages:

"The average teacher looked upon the average doctor or lawyer with envy, not because of their superior emoluments but because of their superior independence. The teaching profession was crushed beneath the downward thrust of external authority. They suffered from a multitude of masters—the Board of Education, the local authority, the general public. They had directors, organizers, supervisors. As Sir John Adams said, 'When we have prayed for those who are under the King and over us there is no one left to pray for except ourselves.' . . . Before a doctor could begin to practise he must be registered by his own Council—a Council of his peers not patronizers. If a doctor misbehaved he was struck off the register not by any external authority but by a jury of his equals. Teachers were selected, examined, and hall-marked by external authority. The Board of Education gave them their certificates. The Board of Education took them away. Blessed be the Board of Education. The Board were superior even to the laws of political economy—they could tamper with the laws of supply and demand, and were doing so."³¹

Since this speech was made, many of the aims to be gained by professional self-government have been obtained independently.

³¹ *The Schoolmaster*, 26 April, 1919.

The government has divested itself of its examining powers and transferred them to area training organizations under the general control of the National Advisory Council on the Training and Supply of Teachers. It is true that the Minister still retains the power to declare a teacher to be unsuitable for employment but the power is exercised almost entirely in sex cases affecting children and then only after conviction by the courts. There appears to be no reason why the power should not be exercised by a representative body. Indeed, such a body would almost certainly be stricter than the Minister.³² The aim of the professional council to advise the Minister has been achieved with the formation of the Central Advisory Council and the National Advisory Councils. If the N.U.T.'s efforts to establish an "Educational Institute of England and Wales" meet with success, then there will be little need for a "Teachers' Council" to act as a separate body.

At his work the teacher has gained almost complete independence. He is unlikely to lose his post except for the grossest neglect of duty. Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, once a tyrant, is now at the worst a nuisance whose enthusiasm for his pet "fads", "activities", "projects" and "courses" can be readily appeased, and at the best (and it generally is at the best) a helpful senior colleague. While there is some talk of administrative interference and petty bureaucracy, the general tendency appears to be towards a lifting of existing restrictions rather than an imposing of new ones.³³ Finally, the teachers as individuals and as a professional group have never accepted their "employers'" views on what should be taught in the schools as more than rough guides. As Sir Ronald Gould has written:

"I have heard it said that the existence in this country of 146 strong, vigorous L.E.A.s safeguards democracy and lessens the risks of dictatorship. No doubt this is true but an even greater safeguard is

³² In 1955 the following was added to the rules of the N.U.T. "If a member is convicted of a criminal offence arising from a charge of indecent conduct, larceny, embezzlement or fraud, his or her right to union membership and all claims and entitlement to union benefits shall be reviewed by the Professional Conduct Committee and the Executive, and if after proceedings in accordance with the terms of Appendix II (B) to these Rules it is so decided, the member shall forfeit such right, claims and entitlement."

³³ The motion suggesting the addition of the rule was carried unanimously. (*The Schoolmaster*, 22 April, 1955).

³⁴ Hertfordshire has led the way in giving increased freedom to teachers. See *The Schoolmaster*, 14 November, 1952.

Also R. Gould, "England and Wales" in *Yearbook of Education*, 1953.

the existence of a quarter of a million teachers who are free to decide what should be taught and how it should be taught."³⁴

We have now concluded our description of the history of the "elementary" teachers over the last 150 years. We have seen them enlarge their qualifications and drive the uncertificated from the profession. They have improved their conditions of work, obtained security of tenure, promotion to the highest ranks of the educational system, a steady salary and a pension scheme. They have grown as a professional group in influence and importance and have seen many educational ideals based upon their work in the schools incorporated in legislation. They have seen the distrust of the parents diminish and the caste lines between "middle-class" schools and "elementary" schools begin to break down. They have seen the unfavourable elements in the stereotype of "the elementary teacher" fall away and their union praised by those who had previously wished to destroy it.

The position of the school teachers could well be regarded by other professions and would-be professions. Without any of the advantages of the older professions, they have fought successfully for the welfare of the schools and for an increase in their status. They have shown how it is profitable to the State, the teachers and the children to enlarge the freedom of the teacher and to make educational administration a matter for joint consultation. They have proved that through the activity of professional associations it is possible to reconcile the desires of the individual to fulfil his professional conscience with the needs of the State. One cannot conclude this survey more fitly than with the words of Sir George Kekewich, who dedicated his autobiography to the N.U.T., "because they have always fearlessly attacked all absurdities of our educational system, have never cringed before officialism, have stood for progress—never for apathy or reaction—have constantly and consistently used their powerful influence for the good of the child, as well as of the teacher, and have been the mightiest lever of educational reform".

³⁴ *The Schoolmaster*, 10 September, 1954

Appendix A

THE "HOLMES-MORANT" CIRCULAR¹

Strictly Confidential: "E Memorandum No. 21"

"THE STATUS AND DUTIES OF INSPECTORS EMPLOYED BY LOCAL
EDUCATION AUTHORITIES"

January 6th, 1910

1. In June, 1908, I sent a Circular (see Appendix 1) to all the Inspectors inquiring in general terms which of the Local Educational Authorities had Inspectors of their own, what the antecedents of these Inspectors were, what salaries they received, what work they had to do, how they did their work, and whether the Board's Inspectors concerned found them a help or a hindrance.

3. Of these 123 Inspectors 109 are men and only fourteen are women. No fewer than 104 out of the 123 are ex-elementary teachers and of the remaining nineteen not more than two or three have had the antecedents which were usually looked for in candidates for Junior Inspectorships--namely, that they had been educated first at a public school, and then at Oxford or Cambridge.

4. The difference in respect to efficiency between ex-elementary teacher Inspectors and those who have had a more liberal education is very great. Very few of our Inspectors have a good word to say for local Inspectors of the former type, whereas those of the latter type are, with three exceptions, well spoken of. In Liverpool, for example, where out of nine Inspectors only three are of the elementary teacher type, His Majesty's Inspector is able to say their work is well done on the whole, and there certainly it is a help, whereas in Manchester and Salford, where out of fifteen Inspectors fourteen belong to the ex-elementary teacher class, His Majesty's Inspector says the existence of these Inspectors stereotypes and perpetuates cast-iron methods and forms an effectual bar to development and progress.

5. Apart from the fact that elementary teachers are as a rule *uncultured and imperfectly educated*, and though many, if not most, of them are *creatures of tradition and routine*,² there are special reasons why the bulk of the local Inspectors in this country should be unequal to the discharge of their responsible duties. It is in the large towns which had School Boards before the appointed day that the majority of local Inspectors are to be found. Those in the twelve largest towns,

¹ This is not the full text of the memorandum (which has never been published) but the extracts read by Mr. Hoare in the House of Commons on 21 March, 1911.

² My italics.

L.L.M.B., etc. (I take that to mean Liverpool, Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham), there are no fewer than seventy-five local Inspectors, besides a great host of specialists. In these towns the local authorities have inherited from the School Board not merely a vicious system of local inspection, but also a large number of vicious Local Inspectors.

7. Having regard to all these facts, we cannot wonder that local inspection as at present conducted in the large towns is on the whole a hindrance rather than an aid to educational progress, and we can only hope that the local chief Inspectors, who are the fountain heads of a vicious officialdom, will be gradually pensioned off, and if local inspection is to be continued in their areas their places will be filled by men of real culture and enlightenment.

8. As compared with the ex-elementary teacher usually engaged in the hopeless task of surveying or trying to survey a wide field of action from a well-worn groove, the Inspector of public schools of the 'Varsity type has the advantage of being able to look at elementary education from a point of view of complete detachment, and therefore of being able to handle its problems with freshness and originality.

(The last section dealt with certain specific officials.)

Appendix B

SALARIES OF CERTIFICATED "ELEMENTARY" TEACHERS 1855-1954

(1) 1855-1918

These salary statistics are taken from the Minutes and Reports of the Committee of Council and the Reports and Financial Statistics of the Education Department and the Board of Education. They were based only on annual returns, made by bodies of school managers, who were often most unbusinesslike people. In particular, it is uncertain how far the annual returns of salaries did, or did not, include sums earned by teachers outside school hours, and the estimated values of dwelling-houses provided for teachers.

It was decided to confine the salary statistics to *certificated* teachers. Even within this group, salaries varied according to the denomination of the school, the type of area in which the school was situated (e.g. town or country) and the age and experience of the teacher. Most important of all, it varied according to whether the teacher was a head teacher or an assistant teacher. In 1855, for example, almost all certificated teachers were head teachers. By 1895, 63.3 per cent of the men and 57.2 per cent of the women were heads. By 1918, the proportions had dropped to 38.6 per cent and 23.1 per cent.

I- AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARY OF CERTIFICATED TEACHERS

Year	Male £	Female £				
1855	90	61				
1860	94	62				
1865	87	55				
1870	93½	57				
1875	109	65				
1880	121	73				
1885	121	74				
1890	120	76				
Year	Male Average	Female Average	Male Head	Male Assistant	Female Head	Female Assistant
1895	122½	80	137	97	86	72½
1900	125½	84½	144	102½	94	76½
1905	130	88	145	110	100	82
1910	145	100	172	125½	121½	91½
1914	147	101	177	129	126	96
1918¹	180	128	195	170	155	120

¹ Sources: B.P.P., 1919, XXXIX. Statement showing the annual salaries of teachers in public elementary schools as on 31 April, 1918

(2) 1919-1954

For the period from 1919 onwards the Burnham scales determined teachers' salaries. Until 1938, the average salaries of certificated teachers were given in the *Annual Abstract of Statistics* but no figures of average salaries have been published since the war.

It is impossible to work out any kind of average salary from the Burnham scales. The multiplicity of scales for heads, the varying age composition and the provisions for graduate and special allowances all add to the difficulty of assessment.

By 1938, the proportion of male certificated teachers who were heads was 28.1 per cent and of female certificated teachers 18.2 per cent. In 1952 the proportion of male trained non-graduate teachers who were heads of maintained primary or secondary schools was 16.4 per cent and the corresponding figure for females was 12.5 per cent.

II—AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARY OF CERTIFICATED TEACHERS

Year	Men £	Women £
1920	271	200
1921	330	252
1922	337	261
1923	346	270
1924	337	266
1925	335	265
1926	—	—
1927	334	256
1928	334	254
1929	334	253
1930	334	254
1931	331	254
1932	298	228
1933	296	220
1934	295	220
1935	312	241
1936	320	256
1937	330	257
1938	331	258

III—BURNHAM SCALE 3¹ FOR CERTIFICATED MALE² ASSISTANTS AND BASIC SCALE FOR TWO-YEAR TRAINED TEACHERS

Year	Minimum	Maximum
1919-21	£160 - £10	£300
1921-3 ³	£182½ - £12½	£380
1923-5	Voluntary abatement of 5% ⁴	
1925-31 ⁵	£180 - £12	£366
1931-4	Cut of 10%	
1934-5	Cut of 5%	
1935-9	£180 - £12	£366
1939-45 ⁶	Various War Bonuses	
1945-8 ⁷	£300 - £15	£525
1948-51 ⁸	£300 - £15	£555
1951-2	£375 - £18	£630
1952-4	£415 - £18	£670
1954-	£450 - £18	£725

One notices that for the period from 1920 to 1938, the average salary of the certificated male teacher is approximately nine-tenths of the maximum of Burnham Scale 3. The maximum was reached at a comparatively early age and the higher salaries of headmasters and senior masters would also tend to raise the average.

Since 1945, the age composition of the profession has altered with the influx of new teachers. There are less headmasterships but the provision for special allowances and London allowances raises the average. As a *very rough working assumption* I have assumed that the average salary bears the same relationship to the scale maximum as pre-war. The following chart shows the movements of an index of the average salary of a certificated male teacher (1855=100) and compares it with indices of average money wages and average retail prices also adjusted to 1855

¹ Scale 3 in 1925 covered 192 out of 318 areas. Scales 1 and 2, which were slightly lower, covered ninety-eight areas and Scale 4, which was slightly higher, twenty-eight areas.

² A female teacher was usually paid four-fifths of a man's salary at the top of the scale and slightly less than a man at the bottom of the scale.

³ This scale was to come into force by instalments from 1921 to 1923. Due to the "voluntary abatement" of 1923 it was never fully implemented.

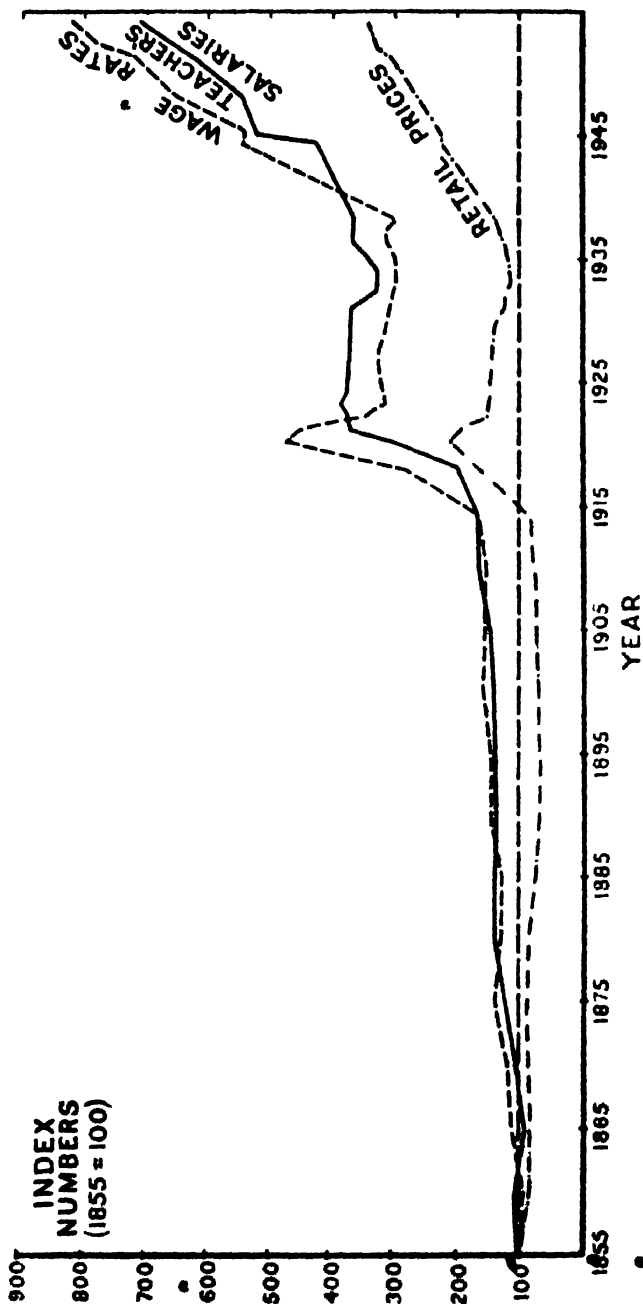
⁴ Also there was the deduction of 5 per cent towards the now contributory pension scheme.

⁵ Also provision of a probationary period of two years before any increment was payable and institution of a "marginal pool" to provide allowances for special qualifications or responsibilities.

⁶ By 1944 the War Bonus was £52 for a man and £42 for a woman.

⁷ Also graduate and training additions, London allowance and special responsibility allowance.

⁸ Also "good" honours addition



IV.—THE AVERAGE SALARY OF A CERTIFICATED TEACHER (MALE) COMPARED WITH AVERAGE WAGES AND AVERAGE RETAIL PRICES

Sources W. T. Layton and G. Crowther, *A Study of Prices (1939)*.

A NOTE ON SOURCES

The main sources used in the preparation of this book were:

- (a) Educational Periodicals.
- (b) Reports of 'Teachers' Associations.
- (c) Government Publications.
- (d) Educational Pamphlets and Articles.
- (e) Miscellaneous.

(a) EDUCATIONAL PERIODICALS

- *The Education Magazine*, 1835-41.
- The English Journal of Education*, 1843-64.
- The Educational Times*, 1847-1951.
- The National Society's Monthly Paper*, 1847-75.
- The Educational Record*, 1848-1929.
- The Quarterly Educational Magazine and Record*, 1848-9
- Papers for the Schoolmaster*, 1851-71.
- The Educator*, 1851-64.
- • *The Educational Expositor*, 1853-5
- The Gazette of the United Association of Schoolmasters of Great Britain*, 1854
- The Literarium or Educational Gazette*, 1854-7
- The School and the Teacher*, 1854-61
- The Scholastic Journal*, 1856-7.
- The Pupil Teacher*, 1857-63.
- The Educational Guardian*, 1859-63.
- The Educational Paper*, 1859-63
- The Museum*, 1861-9.
- The Quarterly Journal of the Associated Board of Church Schoolmasters*, 1865.
- The Journal of Education*, 1867
- The Academia*, 1868.
- The Educational Reporter*, 1869-76
- The National Schoolmaster*, 1871-5
- The School Board Chronicle*, 1871-1902
- The Schoolmaster*, 1872
- The School Guardian*, 1876-1937
- *The Teacher*, 1879-80.
- The Board Teacher*, 1882-1904.
- The School Government Chronicle*, 1903
- Education*, 1903-
- The London Teacher*, 1904
- The Times Educational Supplement*, 1910-
- The Teachers' World*, 1911

As well as the journals mentioned above, I have also consulted the journals of the sectional (e.g. class teachers, head teachers, church teachers, Labour teachers), secessionist (e.g. men teachers, women teachers), secondary and technical associations.

(b) REPORTS OF TEACHERS' ASSOCIATIONS

The early teachers' associations published details of their activities in the educational periodicals and I have not been able to trace any manuscript minute books. The Annual Reports of the N.U.T. are well compiled and elaborate and have made the work of following the history of the union very much easier. *The Scholmaster* publishes lengthy abstracts of executive meetings.

(c) GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

The various government publications relating to education and teachers (e.g. Reports of Select Committees and Royal Commissions; Minutes and Reports of the Committee of Council on Education, Education Department, Board and Ministry of Education; Correspondence, Accounts, Papers, Publications and Pamphlets) are extremely well indexed in the various *General Alphabetical Indexes and Consolidated Lists*.

All such publications were consulted.

(d) EDUCATIONAL PAMPHLETS AND ARTICLES

As well as the isolated pamphlets mentioned in the footnotes, extensive use was made of the collected *Educational Miscellanies* and *Educational Pamphlets* in the Ministry of Education Library, the pamphlets in the British Library of Political and Economic Science and the collected pamphlets in the N.U.T. Library

(e) MISCELLANEOUS

Finally, there are the literally hundreds of books, pamphlets and articles on education, social history and social structure, other occupations and professions, biographies, etc., which impinge upon the subject of this study. The most relevant of these works are mentioned in the footnotes.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

- A.B.C.S.** General Associated Body of Church Schoolmasters in England and Wales.
(*Also called The General Association of Church Schoolmasters or The General Association of Church Teachers.*)
- A.E.C.** Association of Education Committees.
- A.T.T.I.** Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions.
- British and Foreign Society.** British and Foreign School Society.
- B.P.P.** British Parliamentary Papers.
- H.M.I.** Her (or His) Majesty's Inspector of Schools
- L.E.A.** Local Education Authority.
- L.T.A.** London Teachers' Association.
- M.B.T.A.** Metropolitan Board Teachers' Association.
- N.A.S.** National Association of Schoolmasters
- N.U.E.T.** National Union of Elementary Teachers (*until 1889*).
- N.U.T.** National Union of Teachers (*from 1889*).
- N.U.W.T.** National Union of Women Teachers.
- National Society.** The National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church.
- P.T.** Pupil-teacher.
- S.P.C.K.** Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
- U.A.S.** United Association of Schoolmasters

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